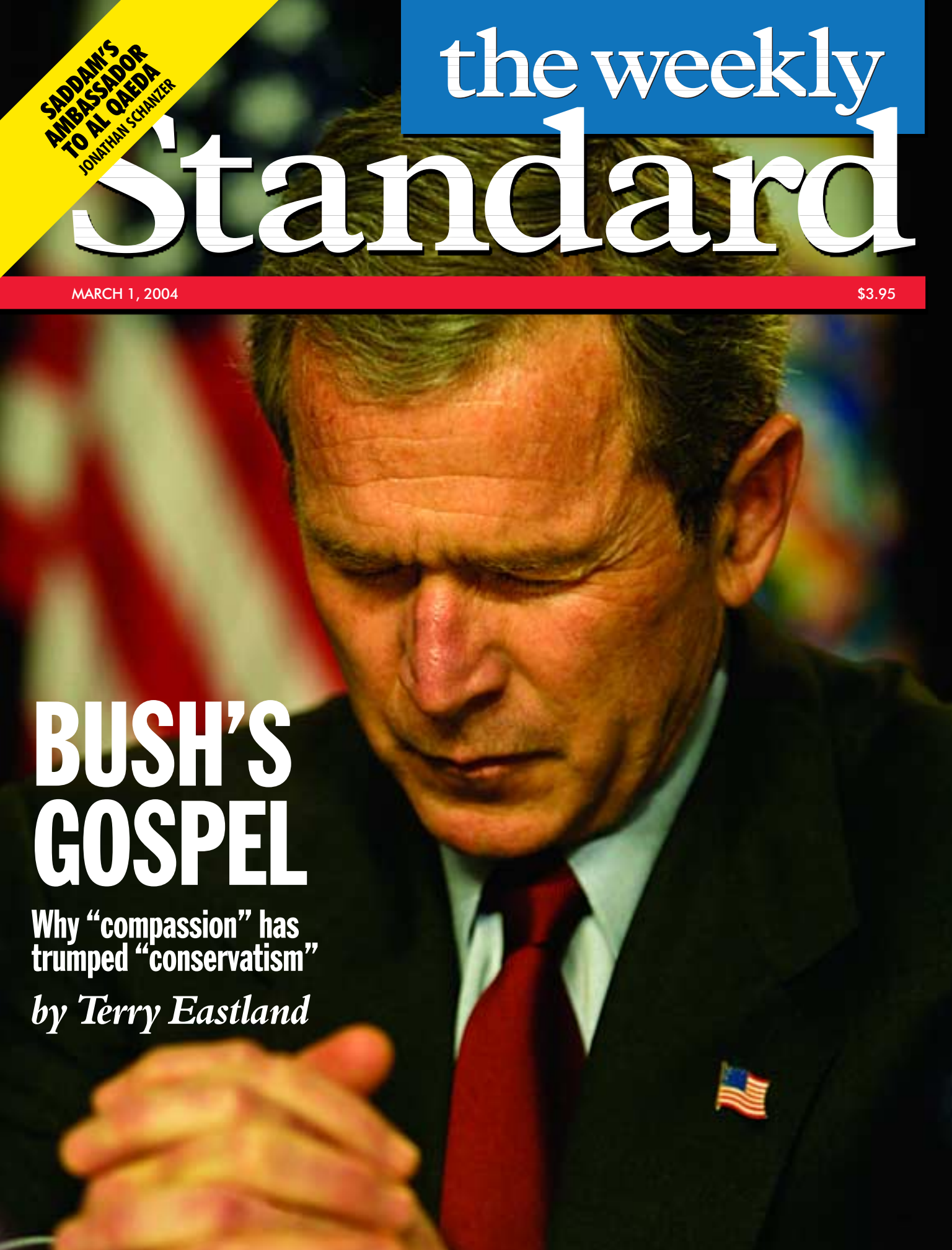
the weekly
Standard
MARCH 1, 2004
$3.95

SADDAM'S AMBASSADOR TO AL QAEDA
JONATHAN SCHANZER



BUSH'S GOSPEL

Why "compassion" has trumped "conservatism"

by Terry Eastland

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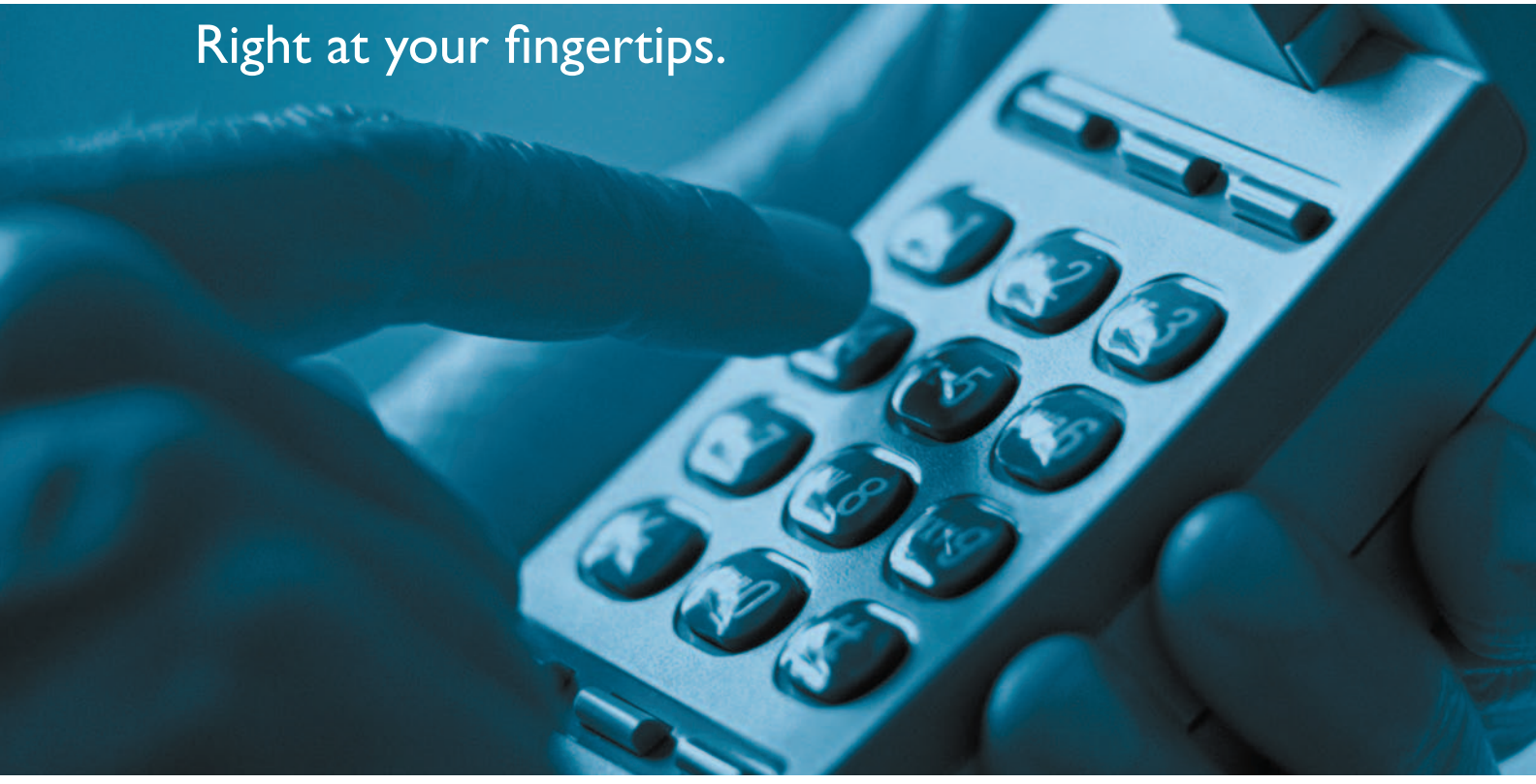

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Attracting the Best Teachers

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No wonder teaching is unattractive. No wonder that the ablest students in college avoid education majors, that the ablest education majors avoid teaching, and that the ablest new teachers are the most likely to quit.

On the other hand, teaching is attractive to senior teachers, who get the best job assignments, the most professional and emotional support, and the highest pay. **Longtime teachers are paid well regardless of how much their skills are needed or how hard or effectively they work.**

Raising starting teacher salaries is an obvious first step, and ensuring that new teachers get assigned to functioning schools where they can get good mentoring is another. But unions often oppose such proposals.

Seniority preferences and skewed pay scales have created a zero-sum relationship in which senior teachers always win and new ones always lose. Higher starting salaries are not enough. Something must be done about the career system that gives new teachers the worst jobs, the least help, and a road to career advancement that favors persistence over performance.

Other government organizations that depend on the quality of new recruits offer a different deal: they rotate them among assignments so they can develop their skills. Moreover, the rate of career advancement depends on performance, and there will always be room at the top for someone who demonstrates special brilliance.

The foreign service and the military, for example, rotate young officers, paying special attention to the ablest. They also protect the possibility of rapid promotion by requiring senior officers to retire if they have not won in the competition for a higher rank. Officers can stay in one rank for just a few years, and only a fraction can be promoted.

This "up or out" process guarantees opportunities for newcomers and quality at senior levels. That is why diplomatic and army careers, in which newcomers get very tough assignments, still attract the likes of former United Nations ambassador Donald McHenry and General Tommie Franks.

Like the foreign service and the military, public education depends on quality people. But **only the field of education protects incumbents and fails to create an open opportunity structure for capable newcomers**. The results are obvious: education repels the most ambitious young people and disproportionately attracts those who prefer security and dread being judged on performance.

—Paul T. Hill

Paul T. Hill is a distinguished visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution; a member of Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education; and a research professor and acting dean at the University of Washington's Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs.

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or

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THE WEEKLY STANDARD (ISSN 1083-3013) is published weekly (except the first week in January, the second week in July, the second week in August, and the second week in September) by News America Incorporated, 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96127, Washington, DC 20077-7767. For subscription customer service in the United States, call 1-800-274-7293. For new subscription orders, please call 1-800-283-2014. Subscribers: Please send new subscription orders to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96153, Washington, DC 20090-6153; changes of address to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96127, Washington, DC 20077-7767. Please include your latest magazine mailing label. Allow 3 to 5 weeks for arrival of first copy and address changes. Yearly subscriptions, $78.00. Canadian/foreign orders require additional postage and must be paid in full prior to commencement of service. Canadian/foreign subscribers may call 1-902-563-4723 for subscription inquiries. Visa/MasterCard payment accepted. Cover price, $3.95. Back issues, $3.95 (includes postage and handling). Send manuscripts and letters to the editor to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, 1150 17th Street, N.W., Suite 505, Washington, DC 20036-4617. Unsolicited manuscripts must be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. For a copy of THE WEEKLY STANDARD Privacy Policy, visit www.weeklystandard.com or write to Customer Service, THE WEEKLY STANDARD, 1150 17th St., NW, Suite 505, Washington, D.C. 20036. THE WEEKLY STANDARD Advertising Sales Office in Washington, DC, is 1-202-293-4900. Advertising Production: Call Nicholas H.B. Swezey 1-202-496-3355.

BPA INTERNATIONAL

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Rebranding America

It is hard to imagine that the State Department's Public Diplomacy efforts could go downhill from where they were under former Undersecretary of State for Public Affairs Charlotte Beers. SCRAPBOOK readers may remember Beers as the Uncle Ben's Rice advertising guru who began her new job a month after the September 11 attacks. Even as President Bush promised to "hunt down" the terrorists, Beers sought to soften America's image.

"It's almost as if we have to redefine what America is," she told the *Wall Street Journal*. "This is the most sophisticated brand assignment I have ever had."

If Brand USA had had a slogan in the Middle East, it would have been something along these lines: Please, be nice to us. We're nice to you. To underscore that last point, Beers included in State Department literature testimonials from terrorist sympathizers such as Nihad Awad, head of the Council on American Islamic Relations, who had previously declared: "I am in support of the Hamas movement."

For these reasons, when Beers announced her resignation last March, THE SCRAPBOOK looked forward to regime change in State's public diplomacy shop. Margaret Tutwiler, an experienced GOP communications guru, was confirmed two months ago as Beers's successor. At a congressional hearing on February 10, she laid out her vision for U.S. public diplomacy. Our optimism was short-lived.

Young people, Tutwiler declared, "are the key to a future peaceful world." America's "strategic goals" are clear: "We need to focus on those areas of the world where there has been a deterioration of the view of our nation. That deterioration is most stark in the Arab and Muslim world. At the same time, we must work equally as hard in those areas where the opinion of the United States has not changed to date." Leaving aside the logistical problems with placing our "focus" on one part of the world and working "equally as hard" in the others, Tutwiler misdiagnoses the chief problem with American public diplomacy.

"Effective policy advocacy remains a priority, and I believe we basically do a good job of advocating our policies and explaining our actions," she said.

Many of those on the receiving end of U.S. public diplomacy efforts, particularly advocates for democracy throughout the Arab and Muslim world, would strenuously disagree. Too many of those paid to advocate U.S. policy openly disagree with it. And rather than explain our actions, they try to explain them away.

Someone who gets it is Kenneth Tomlinson, chairman of the Broadcasting Board of Governors. In testimony he gave a week after Tutwiler's lackluster performance, Tomlinson articulated the proper goal of public diplomacy: "It is very important that government spokesmen take America's message to the world—passionately and relentlessly. We should not be ashamed of public advocacy on behalf of freedom and democracy and the United States of America." ♦

Great Moments in PR

"It has come to our attention that there is a rumor circulating in cyberspace that [Bill Moyers's PBS show] *Now* is under threat of cancellation because of pressure from our critics. It's not true and we have no idea how the rumor began to circulate. PBS has funded NOW through 2004 and we are steaming forward with production."

(from the weekly newsletter of *Now with Bill Moyers*, February 5)

"Bill Moyers, whose weekly magazine *Now* on PBS has capped a 30-year career in TV journalism, is leaving the broadcast after the November elections.

"His next venture: Writing a long-proposed book about Lyndon Johnson, whom he served before and during Johnson's presidency.

"'It isn't because I feel old,' Moyers, 69, told the Associated Press of his decision, which he made official [Feb. 19]. 'It's because I feel compelled to do something else now, that only I can do —which is that book.'"

("Journalist Bill Moyers to Leave PBS," Associated Press, February 20)

Unpopular Filibusters

President Bush made his second recess appointment to the federal courts on February 20, installing Alabama attorney general William Pryor on the 11th Circuit during Congress's President's Day vacation. Like Mississippi judge Charles Pickering, whom Bush elevated to the federal bench over the Christmas holiday, Pryor had been the victim of a Democratic filibuster, which prevented a vote on his nomination.

There was much wailing and gnashing of teeth from Senate Democrats when the White House's procedural end run triumphed over the Democrats' procedural barricade. ("Actions like this show the American people that this White House will stop at nothing to try to turn the independent federal judiciary into an arm of the Republican party," harrumphed Vermont's Patrick Leahy.) But the new "Red States/Blue States" Zogby poll suggests this can be a winning issue for the White House.

Here's the question Zogby asked a national sample of likely voters: "The Constitution provides the president with the power to nominate justices to the federal bench while the U.S. Senate has the power to 'advise and consent.' In that role, the Senate has always confirmed judicial nominees by a simple majority of votes—a requirement upheld by a Supreme Court ruling. During the Bush presidency, Democrats used, on six occasions, the threat of a filibuster to block confirmation of some of Bush's judicial nominees. The Constitution expressly provides that supermajority voting requirements are to be used for treaties and constitutional amendments."

Their finding: "Fifty-three percent of Blue State and 59 percent of Red State voters felt the Democratic filibuster of judicial nominees was wrong, while 35 percent of Blue State and 32 percent of Red State voters feel a minority of Senators are right to use whatever means necessary to block the nominees."

The polling suggests a bipartisan unhappiness with the filibuster. The results, the Zogby press release noted, were "consistent with polling results under President Clinton when voters rejected Republican efforts to block judicial nominees." ♦

EU to UK: Less Work, Please

The reason for Europe's economic woes is never far to seek. The European Parliament has now warned Brits to stop working so much. When the European Commission launched a massive review of its "Working Time Directive" last month, it discovered that "approximately 4 million people, or 16 percent of the [U.K.] workforce, currently work more than 48 hours per week," the maximum average work time in European countries.

Workers can choose to opt out of the 48-hour week maximum. About a third of British workers have signed the opt-out, an option that has gone almost completely unused in other E.U. countries. The European Parliament has passed a nonbinding resolution calling on the Commission to stop what it calls a "widespread and systematic abuse of the directive" in the U.K.

It's been said that Euro law is dreamed up by the French, written by the Germans, enforced by the British—and ignored by the Italians. It may be time to rewrite the joke. ♦

Casual

Buster Blues

I like dogs in the abstract, as a class. I like dog-lovers, too, and think them superior to other men, because I admire their capacity for fellow feeling and their willingness to claim the mantle of stewardship to which all of us are called, so the Bible says. I like movies about dogs. I can watch the broadcast of the Westminster dog show for an hour at a time. That charitable organization that brings doggies to retirement homes so the elderly residents can be revivified by canine companionship—I would give money to that organization if I could remember what it is called.

In other words, as a general proposition, I am down with dogs. It's just Buster himself—Buster *en se*, as the metaphysicians would put it—that I have a problem with.

The picture you see to the right is a picture of Buster. It is an idealized rendering, in my opinion. It was drawn by my daughter, Emily, who is 10 years old and rather more fond of Buster than I. We all approach works of art differently, of course, and *vive la différence*, but when I look at this picture I see a warm, playful, cuddly pup, a bundle of joy, a creature to lift a lowering heart and make gentle the face of the world. Then when I put the picture down and look across the room I see the real Buster. He doesn't appear this way to me at all. Far from a joy-bundle, he is scruffy, panting, half-asleep; or, in the alternative, he is scruffy, panting, and hyperactive, heckling me with gurgles and whimpers and even outright barks until I drop whatever it is I'm doing—gathering the remains of a tissue box he's torn apart, for example—and devote all my energies to keeping him occupied. And this is not easy. I've met teenage boys with longer attention spans than Buster's.

There are many clear and rational reasons why Emily and I see Buster so differently, beyond the obvious one that she is a sweetly disposed 10-year-old girl and I am a tired, cranky, middle-aged man. Buster is not really a man's dog. Men have hounds and setters, Dobermans and Mastiffs—fearless beasts with giant heads that burrow deep into the underbrush to roust a covey of quail, graceful beasts that swing great ropes of spittle onto a passerby as they leap for Frisbees or footballs in parks and open fields.

Emily Ann Ferguson

Buster, by contrast, neither burrows nor leaps, neither does he roust. He is a Bichon Frise—a breed, like the Pekingese, that does not seem to have any males within its genotype. Bichons were bred (by the French) to be show dogs, so it's no surprise they sashay like fan dancers at the Folies Bergère. Every Bichon appears to be a girl dog; and every Bichon looks as if it should be owned by a girl. When I first told a friend we might buy a Bichon and sent him a picture so he could see what we were getting, his reply, by email, was swift: "Wo. I'm not sure I'd want to be seen in public with one of those, you know?"

Oh, I do know, I do. At this season our neighborhood is filled with construction crews repairing streets and renovating houses. They crack apart concrete slabs and bust up walls. When it comes time for Buster's midmorning walk, I descend from my home office, where my soft, pale hands have been tap-tap-tapping out my little articles, and with only the greatest reluctance do I escort fluffy Buster past these Doberman-owning fellows, these Mastiff-loving men. They stop what they're doing and stare as we pass. I feel like one of the Gabor sisters.

The resentments pile up. Buster wasn't an impulse buy, exactly, but in retrospect it's plain I didn't think things through. When we brought Buster home, late last fall, I didn't expect, for example, that I would never again be able to sleep past six in the morning, when Buster's internal alarm goes off, nor did I expect him to eat half a dozen books and the lining of my overcoat. I never thought I would become a student of bowel movements, of their intensity, size, and frequency, and it didn't occur to me that I will have to write many, many more of my little articles than I would have done otherwise, just to pay bills from clinics, sitters, kennels, and Petsmart.

I have tried to keep these resentments from Emily, for the most part, and of course Buster himself doesn't care whether I'm showering him in praise or giving him the high hat. Emily meanwhile has embarked on a writing project of her own: a series of adventure stories starring Buster. *Buster in Autumn* has been followed by *Buster in Winter*. She says she's waiting for the seasons to be upon us before she undertakes *Buster in Spring* and *Buster in Summer*.

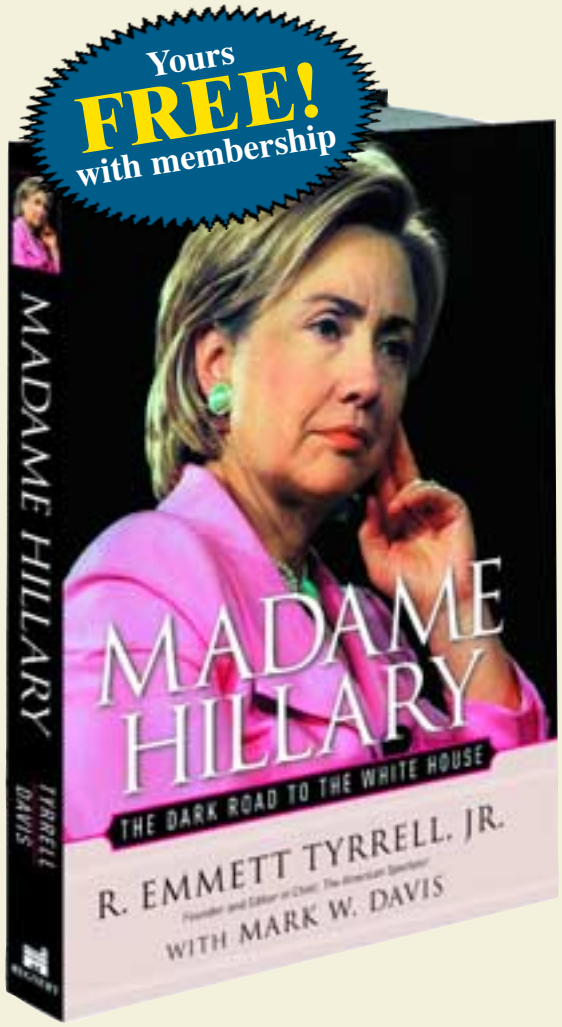
"*Buster in Spring* will be totally different from *Buster in Winter*," she tells me.

"Really?" I say. "Do you think so?"

Andrew Ferguson

HILLARY: Dishonest, Grasping, and Corrupt

And, She's Going to Do Everything She Can to Become President



"THIS IS A WOMAN WHO'S BEEN FIRST LADY, WHO'S LIVED IN THE White House and shared power with a president," says one of Hillary's fellow Senators. "Her ambition is not the Senate leadership.... It's obvious she has a much greater goal in mind. Her ambition is the White House, with all the moves to prepare the way." Now, R. Emmett Tyrrell and Mark Davis reveal in ***Madame Hillary: The Dark Road to the White House*** that not only is Hillary determined to be President: she has the power, the influence, and the determination to attain that goal.

Tyrrell and Davis detail her plans to capture the presidency — with help from the liberal media establishment, which continues to treat her adoringly and ignore uncomfortable questions about her record. With an insider's access to Hillary's Senate colleagues and other key players, they examine in detail several strategies she may use to win. They also explain how she distorts the Clinton administration's sorry record in order to position herself for her own run for the Oval Office, forecasts the damage that a President Hillary might inflict upon the nation — and best of all, shows how she can be stopped.

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Beeb Bashing

Gerard Baker's "The Wreck of the BBC" (Feb. 16) was superb. After the Jayson Blair affair, The Weekly Standard's own "Not a Parody" (Feb. 16) on the *New York Times*'s astrology page, and the Hutton report on the BBC, we can only hope for improved, unbiased reporting from our most reputable news sources.

Alas, the hope will probably be in vain.

Harold Bernard Reisman
Weston, CT

Apparently the BBC has been playing tricks on its viewers and listeners far longer than Gerard Baker's "The Wreck of the BBC" suggests. One need only witness a speech delivered by Winston Churchill to the House of Commons on Feb. 22, 1933, which concerned the BBC's effort to appease Nazi Germany: "It would be far better to have sharply contrasted views in succession," Churchill said, "in alternation, than to have this copious stream of pontifical, anonymous mugwumpery with which we have been dosed for so long."

Apparently, too, the BBC, going beyond its own bias, used its monopoly on the news to muzzle those who spoke out about the gathering danger posed by Hitler. Consider Churchill's grandson's description of his grandfather's February 1933 speech: "Here Churchill seeks to debunk the claim of the British Broadcasting System to speak for Britain. Through the greater part of the 1930s the BBC unashamedly supported the appeasement policies of the government, and with rare exceptions did their best to deny Churchill access to the airwaves."

And here's his description of another of his grandfather's speeches to the Commons: "So as not to be cut off in midsentence by the comptrollers of the BBC, Churchill uses the allegory of the tale of St. George (England's patron saint) and the dragon to mock and heap scorn on the government's efforts to appease Germany, which he casts in the role of the dragon."

Of course, we know what the BBC's bias and monopoly wrought then. How frightening it is to know that they're playing the same tune, and getting away with it, over 60 years later.

Reed M. Fawell
Washington, DC

Party Man

As the month of February came around, I wondered if someone would write an article, or produce a TV program, on the occasion of Abraham Lincoln's birthday. No sooner had I wondered this than The Weekly Standard arrived, containing the wonderful "The Party of Lincoln" by Lewis E. Lehrman (Feb. 16). Lehrman's article was an informative and stylish explanation of Lincoln and his beliefs. Lehrman's analysis of

Lincoln's beliefs and accomplishments made me think about why I've always had difficulty celebrating President's Day. By combining Lincoln's and Washington's birthdays into one holiday, and declaring, essentially, all presidents equal, aren't we diminishing the greatness of Lincoln and Washington?

H. Glenn Irvine
Streeter, ND

America Offline

In "Irrational Exuberance" (Feb. 9), David DeVoss writes, "By the start of 1999, AOL had become the most powerful Internet company in the world. The 16-year-old Internet service provider was more valuable than General Motors and Boeing combined." While this rings true, AOL's financial picture in 1999 is a little more complicated than DeVoss implies.

It's true that in 1999, as reported in the Forbes 500 Annual Report, AOL was 24th in market value (what people would pay for the company's stock), while GM was 11th and Boeing was 70th. But GM was first in sales and Boeing ninth; GM was 30th in profits, Boeing 70th; and GM was 11th in assets, Boeing 70th. AOL wasn't in the top 100 in any of those categories.

Jerome S. Shipman
Potomac, MD

The Weakest Lincoln

I compliment The Weekly Standard for Andrew Ferguson's recent article on the controversy surrounding the placement of a statue of Lincoln at the Confederate landmark known as the Tredegar Ironworks ("When Lincoln Returned to Richmond," Dec. 26/Jan. 3). The National Park Service and many local dignitaries and politicians, such as Lt. Governor Timothy Kaine, should be embarassed by their blatant disregard of Virginia's history and heritage. Questions surrounding the propriety of business dealings of the U.S. Historical Society exist to this day. The revisionist historians at the National Park Service have had a field day with the Lincoln statue, the only one of its kind in the South. Demonizing the good name of the Confederate soldier and misrepresenting the causes of the war are now the standard policy at the Park Service.

I feel Andrew Ferguson did a good job in detailing the issues involved but was negligent in one major regard. He made the statement that I was nowhere to be found on the day the statue was dedicated, leaving the impression that the Sons of Confederate Veterans and I in particular did not have the courage of our convictions when crunch time came. This was erroneously reported. I stood proudly in front of the Tredegar Ironworks with many fellow protesters.

Brag Bowling
Richmond, VA

the weekly Standard

Worth Protecting

The tawdry Laci Peterson murder case has a significant twist. Scott Peterson is charged with two homicides—for killing both his wife Laci and his unborn son Conner. Under California law ("murder is the unlawful killing of a human being, or a fetus, with malice aforethought"), an unborn child is a person with legal status. Twenty-seven other states have similar fetal homicide laws. But there is no federal law on the subject. So if the two Peterson victims had been killed on, say, a military base, Scott Peterson could only have been charged with murdering his wife.

The House of Representatives is slated to vote on the proposed Unborn Victims of Violence Act this week. The measure, sponsored by Rep. Melissa Hart (R-Pa.), would allow federal prosecutors to file criminal charges in cases of violence against a "child in utero." Passage is certain in the House, where the bill was approved in 1999 and 2001. The Senate has never taken up fetal homicide, and a vote there is likely to be close. President Bush has pledged to sign the measure.

As usual, pro-abortion groups have responded hysterically, though the bill doesn't deal with abortion. They are obsessed with 18 words defining an unborn child as "a member of the species homo sapiens, at any stage of development, who is carried in the womb." The American Civil Liberties Union has labeled the bill "a dangerous attempt to separate a woman from her fetus in the eyes of the law." Worse, it would elevate the status of a fetus and erode "the very foundation of the right to choose abortion."

This is nonsense. Professor Walter Dellinger of Duke University Law School, an ally of the pro-abortion movement and a former adviser to President Clinton, has said the measure would not jeopardize *Roe* v. *Wade*. Legislatures can "decide fetuses are worthy of protection" without granting them "freestanding constitutional rights," he told the Raleigh *News & Observer*. In 1994, the California state supreme court upheld the law under which Scott Peterson is charged with killing his son, rejecting the claim it infringed on *Roe* v. *Wade*. Similar challenges to fetal homicide laws in other states have been tossed out by the courts. And the U.S. Supreme Court in 1989 said states could invoke laws that recognize unborn children if they didn't also restrict legalized abortion.

The pro-abortion crowd has a fallback position: guilt by association. Since National Right to Life is promoting the Unborn Victims of Violence Act, that must mean the bill is a backdoor attempt to overturn *Roe* v. *Wade*. But unborn children who suffer violent death are not deprived of their right to life by abortion. Thus, Douglas Johnson of NRL notes it shouldn't be surprising "that the right to life movement would want to deter such deprivations or bring justice when they occur." Besides, NRL is involved in non-abortion issues, opposing human cloning and doctor-assisted suicide.

To block a federal fetal homicide law, the pro-abortion forces have come up with a substitute. It would enshrine in law the idea that when a pregnant woman and her child are both victims of violence, there is only one victim, the mother. However, the perpetrator of violence could be punished harshly for, as the ACLU puts it, "the particularly devastating loss or injury to the woman when her pregnancy is compromised." This pretends that harm to an unborn child is nothing more than a loss to the mother. This "one-victim" substitute was defeated in the House in 2001 by a 229-to-196 vote.

The issue has crept into the presidential race. The president and John Kerry differ. Kerry's rationale for opposing a two-victim bill is that "the law cannot simultaneously provide that a fetus is a human being and protect the right of the mother to choose to terminate her pregnancy." Kerry's letter to constituents on the issue doesn't mention contrary legal opinion and court rulings. But it has prompted a response from Laci Peterson's mother, Sharon Rocha. She wrote Kerry that a single-victim law would say that Conner Peterson "never really existed at all. But our grandson did live. He had a name, he was loved, and his life was violently taken from him before he ever saw the sun."

In one sense, though, advocates of legalized abortion are right about the Unborn Victims of Violence Act. It would affect the abortion issue—by influencing the national debate. How? By putting the focus on the unborn child as well as the mother. Of course, the Unborn Victims of Violence Act should be passed on its own merits. But by riveting public attention on the baby, it also serves a larger moral cause.

—Fred Barnes, for the Editors

Marilyn's Amendment

The first-term congresswoman who's taking the lead against same-sex marriage. **BY ERIN MONTGOMERY**

CONGRESSWOMAN Marilyn Musgrave, a first-term Republican from rural eastern Colorado, is, in the words of one reporter, "taking freshman feistiness to a new level." Dressed in a raspberry-colored suit, with simple blond hair framing a pretty face, Musgrave hardly comes across as aggressive. Yet she takes the description as a compliment.

"Seniority is the name of the game here," she says, "but almost anybody you talk to . . . at town meetings or at meetings of members of your party, whether you're Republican or Democratic, [will say they're] really tired of the good old boys' club. It's funny, because I've never been a feminist. . . . But I'm happy to be known as the feisty freshman, especially at my age. Feisty sounds really good." Musgrave, a grandmother, is 55.

Since coming to Washington in 2002, Musgrave has challenged House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee chairman Don Young (R-Alaska), House speaker Dennis Hastert, and even President Bush on a number of budgetary issues, burnishing her reputation as an uncompromising fiscal conservative.

But these days, Musgrave is best known as the author of the Federal Marriage Amendment, which states: "Marriage in the United States shall consist only of the union of a man and a woman. Neither this Constitution or the constitution of any State, nor state or federal law, shall be construed to require that marital status or the legal incidents thereof be conferred upon unmarried couples or groups." President Bush is expected to endorse a marriage amendment in the near future. He told 250 legislators at the GOP Conference retreat in Philadelphia, January 28-31, that he specifically supported "Marilyn's language."

Introduced in May 2003 as House Joint Resolution 56, the amendment has recently become a source of dispute. Some supporters of homosexual marriage argue that the second sentence would ban civil unions, but Musgrave says her amendment is worded so as to prevent same-sex marriage, but not prohibit state legislatures from recognizing other forms of union. "The second sentence is reining in state and federal courts. It would allow for civil unions to be enacted by the state legislatures, so it's very respectful of states' rights," she explains. "I do not support civil unions, but I think that those fights are best left to the states."


Marilyn Musgrave

Although she has not been given a timeline, Musgrave is working with House leaders to arrange a hearing and a floor vote on the amendment this year. The bill is gaining support in the House, with 112 cosponsors at last count. Musgrave and her colleagues admit it will be a long and arduous road but remain optimistic. "I never thought [the amendment] would get any legs, but it could very well be one of the defining issues of the presidential campaign," says Rep. Tom Tancredo, a fellow Colorado Republican. Musgrave adds, "We in the United States are not cavalier about amending the Constitution, but I believe that protecting the institution of marriage is just that important."

Protecting the wallets of hardworking Americans is also close to Musgrave's heart. Just four months into the job, she found herself leading the fight against a proposal by Transportation Committee chairman Don Young to raise the gas tax. Her resistance to the measure—which would raise the 18.4-cents-per-gallon federal tax by 8 cents a gallon over 6 years, to partly finance the $375 billion highway bill—resulted in a heated confrontation between the two on the House floor.

Musgrave knew she could be jeopardizing funding for road projects in her district by challenging Young, but she is convinced that there are other ways to finance roads. Musgrave is currently working with the chairman of the Republican Study Committee, Rep. Sue Myrick of North Carolina, to investigate reforms for highway funding and to encourage Young to hold hearings. "Marilyn's got a lot of gumption and is willing to take a tough stand, and there's not a lot of that going around," Myrick says. "She's not from the South, but she's what we'd call a steel magnolia."

Husband Steve, a committed conservative and political junkie, admires his wife's tenacity. He says he could never do what she does, but when the spouses of members of Congress were invited to last month's GOP Conference retreat, Steve, now an insurance agent, attended the break-out session on transportation and got a glimpse of Young in action. "It was interesting

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for him to sit in a room and see the guy who was yelling at his wife at one time," Musgrave laughs. "I think he really feels confident that I'm up to the task, but knows that every once in a while I may need a shoulder rub for a tension headache."

The couple, who married after their first year at Colorado State University, have four children and five grandchildren. The Musgraves still own a custom hay business in their hometown of Fort Morgan, a farming community of about 9,000. Their sons worked as machine operators growing up, and their daughters helped out with the business as well. Musgrave fondly recalls driving a bale wagon while pregnant with her fourth child. The business, in operation mainly during the summer months, was a good complement to Steve's career as a math and science teacher, and allowed Musgrave to stay at home with their kids. "The best job I've ever had was staying at home and raising my children," Musgrave says.

It was dissatisfaction with the lack of discipline and academic rigor in her children's classrooms, and her support for school choice, that prompted Musgrave to run for public office. In 1990, she was elected to the Fort Morgan School Board, where she served for two years. She was elected to the Colorado House of Representatives in 1994 and the state Senate in 1998. She was one of the legislature's strongest Second Amendment supporters and an advocate of tax cuts. A member of the First Assembly of God, she has not separated her faith from her role as a legislator and sponsored bills opposing abortion and same-sex marriage.

When fellow Republican Bob Schaffer announced in November 2001 that he would honor his term-limits pledge and retire from the U.S. House of Representatives, Musgrave ran to replace him, defeating Democratic state senator Stan Matsunaka by 55-42 percent. She now sits on the House committees on Agriculture, Education and the Workforce, and Small Business, and is enjoying the ride so far.

A conviction politician even when it means alienating fellow Republicans, she was the only freshman to vote no on the first round of votes regarding an expensive new prescription drug benefit for Medicare, the federal health insurance for seniors. During the second round, House speaker Dennis Hastert directly lobbied her for her vote, but again, she declined. That night, President Bush called her to ask her for her vote. "I said, 'Mr. President: Love you, pray for you, admire you, you're my hero, but I just can't do it. I'm a no vote.'" Musgrave says the president was a gentleman—he thanked her and undoubtedly went on to the next representative to round up the necessary votes.

Musgrave describes what happened then as providential. As soon as she hung up the phone with the president, the cell phone on her desk started vibrating. It was her 4-year-old grandson, Frankie, calling to say hello. "I picked up my cell phone and this little voice came on," she says. "And I'm not kidding you, I just was overwhelmed with thinking about what we are leaving to our grandchildren, what we're doing to future generations, to our kids and our grandkids, and I felt so good about my no vote." ♦

Don't Despair over Disparities

Race politics at HHS.

BY SALLY SATEL & JONATHAN KLICK

JUST BEFORE CHRISTMAS the Department of Health and Human Services released the National Healthcare Disparities Report. It documents an all-too-familiar problem in public health: the poorer health status of individuals on the lower rungs of the socioeconomic ladder and the fact that they often receive different treatment than those with more resources and higher education.

The term *disparity*, though, refers not just to differences. Over the last few years it has acquired another connotation in public health circles, referring to differences in care determined by ethnicity. And therein lies the potential for race politics. In mid-January, those politics surfaced. "Racial Disparities Played Down; At Request of Top Officials, Report on Health Care Differs From Draft," ran an article in the *Washington Post*. At issue were changes to the executive summary of the HHS report. These included using the more neutral word *difference* instead of *disparity*; removing statements that disparities are "national problems" that are "pervasive" and exact a "personal and societal price"; and the substitution of some examples of health differences in which minorities fare better than the general population for those depicting minorities as doing worse.

On January 13, Henry Waxman, ranking minority member of the House Government Reform Committee, sent a scathing letter to HHS Secretary Tommy Thompson protesting these prepublication changes. The substance of the roughly 200-page report, brimming with documented differences in health status and treatment, was not at issue—simply the summary—yet Waxman warned Thompson that the changes "alter the report's meaning . . . and fit a pattern of the manipulation of science by the Bush Administration." An accom-

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panying press release, signed by members of the Congressional Black Caucus, Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus, and Congressional Hispanic Caucus, claimed that "by tampering with the conclusions of its own scientists, HHS is placing politics before social justice."

Further context for the "tampering" charge was provided by H. Jack Geiger, an emeritus professor of community medicine at the City University of New York. His January 27 op-ed in the *Washington Post* ("Why is HHS Obscuring a Health Care Gap?") praised a 2002 report from the Institute of Medicine, *Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health*, to which he was a contributor. That report suggested that racial differences in health care are "rooted in historic and contemporary inequities" and asserted that "stereotyping," "prejudice," and "bias" by doctors, hospitals, and other care providers contribute to the disparities.

Having seen both versions of the executive summary of the HHS report, we agree that the earlier one was more powerful and detailed. (Indeed, on February 10, Thompson agreed to release the executive summary in its original form, saying that a "mistake" was made.) But the contents of the full report were never disputed, and there is little reason to worry that HHS is downplaying the disparity issue. "Eliminating health care differences resulting from unequal opportunities must continue to be a public policy priority," says the HHS report within the first few pages. Nevertheless, the report's critics perceived the revision as a malign effort, in Geiger's words, "to avoid the truth"—namely, that gaps in treatment are also the product of racial discrimination in the health care system. More than a thousand studies, Geiger insists, document "inequities" in the health care provided for minorities.

Inequities? Not so fast—especially since "inequity," as Geiger has made clear in his writings on race and health, implies inferior care based solely on the patient's race. Let's be clear about what those studies do show, bearing in mind that the vast majority of them—which were assembled by Physicians for Human Rights with Dr. Geiger's assistance—are not sufficiently detailed to even begin to illuminate the recesses of the treatment gap.

The most rigorous studies control for numerous variables that could explain why minorities are less likely to undergo procedures such as cardiac catheterization—variables such as other illnesses that might make the procedure inadvisable. But because most of the disparity studies rely upon review of hospital charts or large Medicare databases, they cannot take into account such important factors as patient preferences or supplemental insurance. Nor do they reveal how doctors made their treatment decisions.

Socioeconomic complexities are too often ignored in debates over health care disparities, where insinuations of racism are a media draw.

Then there is the matter of rational inference. Physicians base their clinical decisions on experience and statistical norms. These are sometimes influenced by race (or sex or class, for that matter). But judgments that appear to be made on race may actually be made on other variables that simply correlate with race. Level of education is such a variable. As recent work by Dana Goldman and James Smith of RAND shows, adherence to treatment regimens in patients with HIV and diabetes varied greatly with the patient's level of schooling.

In practical terms, if a physician thinks that a patient will not comply with triple therapy for HIV, he might either forgo the medication or give the patient a compliance "trial," wherein the patient must at least keep a second appointment in order to receive medication. To the extent that a physician does the former without strong clinical justification, he has acted unethically. At the same time, failure to draw rational inferences about patients—especially the likelihood of their taking potent medications properly or caring for surgical wounds once discharged from the hospital—can lead to worse health outcomes for minority and white patients alike. A conscientious doctor cannot simply prescribe complicated therapies and hope for the best.

For doctors, data about health care disparities serve a consciousness-raising function, prompting them to ask themselves whether they are giving every patient the opportunity to benefit from treatment. But to elevate the phenomenon of making clinical generalizations to the level of a civil-rights violation is a huge leap—yet one the disparity-equals-racism crowd is eager to make.

Research in health disparities often boils down to the assumption that more is always better. Consider: A 1999 study from Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center found that black patients with operable lung cancer underwent surgery for removal of part of the lung less often than whites. Insurance coverage was not a factor. Five years later one quarter of the black patients, and one-third of whites, were still alive, strongly suggesting that surgery would have saved many black lives. (Even so, this was a study based on Medicare records and a National Cancer Institute database, so there were clinical subtleties—for example, results of pulmonary function tests and patients' desire for the operation—that remained unknown and could have affected the picture.)

But differences in care do not inevitably translate into differences in outcome. In fact, according to a Kaiser Family Foundation review of cardiac care studies, the overwhelming majority found no mortality differences between races despite lower rates of procedures for blacks. One possible explanation is that catheterization may be overused in white patients,

Roger LeBrun,
Verizon Customer Service Technician/ Extreme Rescue Specialist on training exercise Malibu, CA

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meaning that the procedure is performed even when it will probably not benefit patients.

Often, such overuse of procedures is the result of nonclinical influences. For example, numerous researchers have documented the practice of "defensive medicine," in which physicians provide care with infinitesimal or nonexistent expected benefits solely to protect themselves from liability in subsequent legal proceedings. This research shows that doctors facing lower liability exposure thanks to state medical malpractice law reforms perform fewer procedures and clinical tests with no adverse effects on patient health. This implies that a doctor's expectations of future litigation will influence his care decisions. If different racial groups have different propensities to sue, or if eventual judgments are correlated with race, care disparities will arise, but it is not clear that those disparities have any consequences for patient health.

Such socioeconomic complexities are too often ignored in the debates over health care disparities, where insinuations of racism are a sure media draw. This is unfortunate, since constructive policy proposals require a reliable diagnosis. Yet many medical schools, health philanthropies, policymakers, and politicians are proceeding as if "bias" were an established fact.

For example, there is now a "cultural competence training" industry that, among other activities, has been known to conduct patronizing racial sensitivity training for doctors. This is not to be confused with the need to learn the local anthropology of unacculturated populations, a vital necessity for physicians who work with cultural minorities. In addition, medical schools are forthright in lowering academic and performance standards in the service of building a more racially diverse workforce. The main rationale for these racial preferences is to take advantage of the fact that minority doctors are more likely to practice in underserved areas and to fulfill the (unfounded) premise that minority patients overwhelmingly prefer same-race doctors. Yet a more fair and clinically responsible way to get good doctors into poor neighborhoods is to offer financial incentives.

Inferring discrimination from the existence of disparities is a divisive distraction from the factors that have undisputed and sizable influence on disparity: access to care, quality of care, and health literacy. When access to care is excellent and quality of care and patient characteristics are relatively homogeneous—such as in military health care systems—there are negligible racial disparities in care.

The HHS report on health care disparities rightly attacks the disparity issue as a socioeconomic problem tied to access to quality care and to the health literacy of potential patients. There was no "papering over" of health care differences, as its critics allege. If anything, to say that the differences—which are real and surely need attention—are born substantially of racial discrimination in the health care system is the true manipulation of the science. ♦

No Moore in 2004

The Ten Commandments judge shalt not run.

BY KATHERINE MANGU-WARD

WHEN FORMER Alabama supreme court chief justice Roy Moore speaks in sympathetic venues, he is "treated like a rock star, signing autographs and getting thunderous standing ovations," according to the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. Moore's cult following (as well as his newly unemployed status) has prompted some of his more zealous supporters to suggest that Moore take his show on the road and run for president in 2004.

Moore, of course, became a household name after he erected a two-and-a-half ton monument of the Ten Commandments on public property (the rotunda of the Alabama state judicial building) and then last year defied a federal judge's order to remove it.

Earlier this month, the *Wall Street Journal*'s John Fund dedicated a column to the possibility of a Moore candidacy on the ticket of Howard Phillips's Constitution party. The Constitution party has the third-largest number of registered voters in the United States and was on the ballot in 41 states in 2000. If Moore gets "on the talk shows and stir[s] up conservative voters," Fund wondered, could he pose a threat to Bush in a close race, as Ralph Nader did to Al Gore in 2000?

Alas, the world will never know. Moore emphatically denies that he will challenge Bush this year, "period." Constitution party bigwig and sometime presidential candidate Phillips is an "old friend," says Moore. But the party's candidate for this cycle has already been selected, Phillips says. In fact, he "personally counseled [Moore] not to declare for office at this time."

Instead, Moore tells me, he's concentrating on a series of appeals to regain his seat on the Alabama bench. He has also teamed up with Georgia's Zell Miller, Sam Brownback of Kansas, South Carolina's Lindsey Graham, and a few other congressional stalwarts to introduce a bill to prohibit courts from preventing members of government from "acknowledging God as the sovereign source of law, liberty, or government."

The legislative route, says Moore, is

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the only way to rein in the activist courts. "Many people on the street have a sense that the courts have gone too far." The courts have "gotten into the business of making law, and it's bad law." They've removed God from public life and, in so doing, have undermined the "feasibility of a moral society."

And though he "understands what others are trying to do," he opposes the federal marriage amendment on the grounds that "you can't have a constitutional amendment for every act of immorality established by the courts."

Some will no doubt think it's a shame that Moore isn't running. His facility with the spoken word and unconventional stance on big issues like the marriage amendment could have provided an interesting contrast to the less verbally gifted candidates. One shivers to imagine the flights of rhetorical fancy that would have been unleashed by the Roy Moore/Alan Keyes ticket of which a few right-wingers dare to dream.

Despite Fund's scenario, in which Moore takes a dent out of Bush's support from the conservative base, numerous political analysts (between snickers and giggles) stress that the Constitution party has, thus far, utterly failed to emerge as a force in national campaigns. Moore might have provided a diverting rhetorical sideshow in a race full of verbal gaffes, but would otherwise have been unlikely to make or break the Bush campaign's ongoing efforts to keep conservatives happily in the fold.

Perhaps, though, if the Bush campaign wanted to hedge against the possibility of even a remote third-party threat, the president might consider tapping Judge Moore as poet laureate. Because it turns out that Moore—the conservative hard-liner given to quoting George Washington, Blackstone, and far more obscure constitutional commentary at length, from memory—has been writing poetry for years.

At the end of our chat, Moore honored me with a short recitation of one of his original works. He has turned his poetic gifts to such themes as the Declaration of Independence and "the spiritual battle raging" in "our great nation." But, as he humbly points out, "we all start off with love poems."

With only the slightest prompting, he launches into a poem that he wrote for his wife, Kayla, shortly after he was appointed to the bench. "The Verdict" consists of rhyming couplets tying together judicial imagery and romance. "Condemned to a life of marital bliss / Our fate was sealed by a very first kiss . . ."

But perhaps the rest of the poem, like Moore's campaign for the Oval Office in 2004, is best left to the imagination. ♦

Peasant Rebellion

China's critical masses.

BY JENNIFER CHOU

China Central Television's "Economic Person of the Year" for 2003 is Xiong Deming, a 42-year-old pig farmer from Sichuan Province. But Ms. Xiong wasn't singled out for any entrepreneurial or agricultural undertaking of her own. Rather, her 15 minutes of fame are the result of a chance encounter with Premier Wen Jiabao on October 24, when Wen was visiting her village. Ms. Xiong told the premier that her peasant-turned-worker husband was owed 2,240 yuan ($270) in back pay for work on a government-financed construction project in Yunyang Prefecture. The premier promised to help. About six hours later, Xiong's husband received payment in full, albeit a year late.

The incident, first reported by China's official Xinhua News Agency, triggered a deluge of stories in local newspapers about the plight of the country's floating population of peasants roaming from city to city looking for work. Official figures place their number at 94 million. Special efforts to recover overdue wages on their behalf—a total of as much as $40 billion, by some estimates—were a hot topic around the Lunar New Year (January 22 this year), as migrants rely on their wages for train fare back to their villages for family reunions.

There were almost daily media accounts of village or township chiefs' recovering migrants' overdue wages from subcontractors and middlemen. Several websites devoted to the subject are up and running, featuring scholarly articles on the history of the rural exodus, as well as sketches of the daily lives of migrant workers, who are the backbone, but also the victims, of China's boom.

According to callers to Radio Free Asia's Mandarin-language hotlines, however, all this is mostly hype. Skeptical of the reports in state media, a Fujian listener said, "Only last week they reported 1.5 billion yuan had been recovered. But just now I heard on the news that fully one-half of the 100 billion yuan owed to more than 90 million migrant workers has been recovered. Are they saying they managed to collect almost 50 billion yuan in a matter of days?" And a peasant from Anhui Province working in Guangdong said, "I haven't seen a red cent!"

A glut of rural labor and growing urban prosperity are driving the migration to China's cities that has

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been going on for 20 years. Some independent economists believe the number of migrants could be as high as 130 million. They come mainly from Anhui, Henan, Sichuan, Jiangxi, Hunan, and Hubei provinces, and work mostly in construction and the service sector. Thanks largely to their remittances home, rural incomes tripled between 1989 and 2001.

For a long time, internal migration was limited by the household registration system set up in the late 1950s. But in the mid-1980s, large numbers of peasants started moving to cities without permission. In 1993, the Beijing government relaxed the system, permitting millions to enter and work in cities on a temporary basis. Then in 2003 the government repealed a rule that allowed police to round up peasants seeking employment in cities without temporary residence certificates.

While China continues to encourage such migration, it hasn't managed the resulting challenges well. Defaults on payments owed migrant workers are apparently common, especially in the construction industry, where developers sometimes default on payments to subcontractors, who in turn default on workers' pay. Sometimes crooked middlemen skip town, leaving the workers in the lurch.

Poorly educated and low skilled, the migrants have little recourse. "We're in no position to make demands," said a Shanxi listener. "If you want to quit, go ahead. Nobody asked you to come here. If you are looking for laborers, just go to the train station and wave your hand. And they descend on you en masse."

This listener had once worked in the southern boomtown of Shenzhen. After laboring for six months in construction and not getting paid, he'd returned to Shanxi Province. But what he earned from tilling the land in his village didn't even cover the agricultural taxes and fees imposed by local officials. So he quit farming and took a job in a coal mine. Last year he survived an underground explosion that killed more than 30 miners. He said he would stick to mining, however, because "they actually pay us here."

Several callers claimed that some migrants unable to recover back pay had committed suicide. A Shenzhen journalist and a cadre in rural Shandong corroborated this in separate interviews with RFA's Mandarin Service. The cadre from Shandong disputed the official estimate that average arrears are 1,000 yuan ($120) per worker. He believes the actual figure is several times higher.

A Shanghai caller characterized the Lunar New Year as "a season of misery" for migrants. Pointing a finger at the central government for "abandoning the rural population," he asked, "Why are they treated so badly? They are human beings too—each with two eyes, a nose, and flesh and blood."

Former Premier Zhu Rongji once warned that China's economic growth might be jeopardized if migrant workers weren't allowed to enjoy their share. Two years in a row now, China's new leaders have spent the Lunar New Year holiday visiting the rural poor. While their efforts to bond with the masses have not gone unnoticed, the prevailing sentiment among RFA-Mandarin callers is that the gesture may be too little, too late. As a 36-year-old salesman put it: "They do it because they feel a terrible sense of crisis. The people and the ruling elite are now on opposite sides. And the gap is getting wider and deeper." ♦

Death to Mosquitoes

DDT is saving lives in South Africa.

BY ROGER BATE

WHILE THE WORLD understandably focuses on AIDS in Africa, malaria continues to devastate the children of that continent. Dr. Wenceslaus Kilama, a Tanzanian malaria specialist and head of Malaria Foundation International, alarmingly explains that every 30 seconds a child in Africa dies from the disease. "That's like loading up seven Boeing 747s with children and crashing them into the ground every day, . . . a September 11 every 36 hours," he says.

But there is one success story to point to. South Africa has reduced its malaria burden by using a combination of the widely reviled insecticide DDT and a new therapeutic drug called Coartem. According to Donald Roberts, professor of tropical diseases at the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences in Maryland, "the insecticide DDT is still the best method to control mosquito-borne dangers like malaria around the tropical impoverished parts of the world." Unfortunately, no aid or health agencies are learning from the South African experience because of concerns about being seen to endorse DDT. But is DDT really deadly?

"The 1972 banning of DDT in the United States was based more on politics than on any scientific evidence," says Roberts. The judge presiding over the scientific hearings on DDT ruled, after reviewing all the evidence, that DDT should not be banned, yet he was overruled by William Ruckels-

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haus, the Environmental Protection Agency head at the time. DDT does persist in the environment, but problems (such as to bird populations) arise only when it's used in massive doses for farming, not when spraying mosquitoes for disease control. DDT dissipates in the environment slowly but consistently. Furthermore, even after 60 years of human exposure, "there has never been a replicated study published in a peer-reviewed journal showing harm to human health from DDT," says malaria expert Dr. Amir Attaran.

Spraying DDT on inside walls of houses is only one of a number of tools available to fight malaria. There are alternative insecticides, and insecticide-treated bed nets can be effective. Bio-environmental controls, such as the removal of mosquito breeding pools, can also help. In addition, both prophylactic drugs to prevent malaria and therapeutic drugs to cure it should be a part of any malaria control program. All these approaches have their uses, but the key constraint is cost. The alternative insecticides are all at least twice as expensive as DDT. It is prohibitively expensive for a whole family to use bed nets. And drug therapy is even more expensive.

AFP / Alexander Joe

A health worker spraying DDT in Jozini, South Africa

For countries that spend less than $10 per person per year on health care (most of Africa), cost is the overriding consideration. Given the increasing risk of malaria across the African continent (more than 1 million deaths and 300 million cases a year), it is understandable that a few countries, such as Zambia and South Africa, still use DDT for malaria control. But international political pressure against DDT deployment is undermining wider use. There is even a United Nations treaty—the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants—which restricts DDT production, trade, and use, making it more expensive. In effect, disease control is being sacrificed for the sake of an international environmentalist agenda. Worse still, aid agencies, especially the U.S. Agency for International Development, have pressured countries not to use DDT, implicitly conditioning even non-malarial aid on halting DDT use.

South Africa, however, is the wealthiest country in Africa and entirely funds its own malaria-control program. Its health budget is close to $200 per person per year. Therefore, it is not subject to the whims of international aid agencies. However, when joining the international community, with its first free elections in 1994, it was sensitive to international pressures. Given how important tourism is to the country, environmental concerns were thought to be crucial to its image. In response to pressure from green groups, South Africa stopped using DDT in 1996 and switched to the more environmentally friendly insecticide. At the time, South Africa had a few thousand malaria cases and about 50 deaths a year (far lower than any other sub-Saharan country).

By 2000, malaria cases had climbed to over 80,000 and deaths approached 500 a year. The South Africa Health Department then switched back to DDT and also introduced Coartem as a first-line treatment. Existing drugs, Chloroquine (CQ) and Sulphadoxine-Pyrimethamine (SP), were exhibiting resistance problems, but Coartem, a leading Artemisinin Combination Therapy (ACT), was more expensive. However, resuming DDT spraying controlled the caseload to such an extent that all malaria patients could be treated affordably with Coartem. This new strategy was spectacularly successful, reducing malaria cases and deaths by a remarkable 85 percent within 18 months.

Success stories are rare in Africa, so one would think that South Africa's lesson might be emulated. Think again. The World Health Organization, USAID, and the Global Fund for AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (40 percent of whose budget comes from U.S. taxpayers) are paying no heed. All three refuse to condone the use of DDT (probably out of ideological opposition to insecticides in general and DDT in particular), or to promote the use of Coartem or other ACTs (probably out of inertia). They promote bed nets, which, although effective, cover only a small number of people. They also deliver cheap drugs like CQ and SP, which allow them to treat more patients but work as little as 25 percent of the time in some countries. Drug resistance is not merely a nuisance, it is deadly. Children in aid-dependent countries like Mozambique and Tanzania are dying in far greater numbers than they should.

Environmental ideology ought not to be driving malaria control strategies. Developing countries need to be able to use technologies that are appropriate to their levels of development. The anti-DDT eco-imperialism actively pursued by the WHO, the Global Fund, and USAID shuts off a number of development options for these countries, keeping them poor and unhealthy. ♦

Bush's Gospel

The strengths and weaknesses of a love-thy-neighbor presidency

By Terry Eastland

Among the events that doomed Howard Dean's candidacy, one that has been insufficiently parsed took place on January 11 during a question-and-answer session in Oelwein, Iowa. A Bush supporter, Dale Ungerer, got up and condemned the press and the Democratic candidates for over-the-top criticisms of the president. Ungerer invoked the biblical imperative to "love thy neighbor," telling Dean, "Please tone down the garbage. . . . You should help your neighbor and not tear him down." Dean responded, "George Bush is not my neighbor."

Ungerer protested, "Yes, he is," but Dean said, "You sit down. You had your say, and now I'm going to have my say." And he did, identifying ways Bush hadn't been "a good neighbor" to his fellow Americans. Dean added, "Under the guise of supporting your neighbor, we're all expected not to criticize the president because it's unpatriotic. I think it's unpatriotic to do some of the things that this president has done to the country. It is time not to put up [with] any of this 'love thy neighbor' stuff."

Press accounts of the exchange tended to frame it as another instance of Dean's temper flaring, while commentators wondered whether the candidate's treatment of "love thy neighbor" as mere "stuff" wasn't at odds with his recent expressions of respect for religion.

Unnoticed, however, was the fact that Dean had made a frontal attack on the Bush presidency. For if you look closely at the president's speeches and remarks and consider carefully the sweep of his policies, both domestic and foreign, it becomes clear that Bush thinks of his presidency in terms of the commandment invoked in the Oelwein exchange. Indeed, central to George W. Bush's motivation as president is the ethic of "neighbor-love," as it is called in Christian circles.

We're not accustomed to a theological reading of a presidency. Yet it's evident, as Bill Keller of the *New York Times* wrote last year, that Bush's faith is "the animating force of his presidency." What hasn't been recognized is that neighbor-love in particular is what moves Bush and has helped shape his presidency. His faith teaches him to "love thy neighbor as thyself," and he approaches his job with that imperative in mind.

What this means in practice may surprise supporters and critics of the president alike. Bush's neighbor-love presidency envisions not merely a more compassionate citizenry, but a more compassionate government. It sees a larger role for religion in public life. It does not seek to establish any particular religion but is friendly to all faiths and vigilant about protecting the free exercise of religion. The trademarks of this presidency are religious pluralism and religious freedom. Overseas, the neighbor-love presidency is remarkably ambitious. It seeks to ameliorate human suffering, whatever its cause, and it is not reluctant to wage war on behalf of innocent people oppressed by the likes of Saddam Hussein. It stands for the defense and spread of freedom, because it believes that freedom is the God-given right of men and women everywhere.

The neighbor-love presidency is worth elaborating in detail, especially since we haven't seen its likes before, and because its implication for politics and policy is not a simple matter. It represents a modification, even a diminution, of American conservatism. And while its greatest triumphs have been abroad, Democrats believe it is vulnerable on the home front. The fall campaign could become an argument—like the one Dean initiated in Iowa—about what kind of neighbor Bush has been.

George W. Bush grew up in mainline Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, and as an adult became a member of a United Methodist Church in Midland, Texas. But the turning point in his life—actually a turning period, by Bush's account—occurred in the mid-1980s, when, after a conversation with Billy Graham, he renewed his faith. He began weekly Bible studies with a group of men in Midland, and, after an especially wet celebration of his 40th birthday in 1986, he completely quit drinking.

Bush has not embraced the terms "born-again" or "evangelical" to describe his faith, though he has said he wouldn't reject the appellations, either. His faith appears to be what theologically conservative Christians generally

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Reuters / Landov / Kevin Lamarque

Pitching in at the Capitol Area Food Bank, December 19, 2002

believe, and he expresses his beliefs in a straightforward manner. Bush attends services at the chapel at Camp David and occasionally at St. John's Episcopal Church near the White House. He has a large number of Christian friends, including several pastors, many of whom he sees from time to time, and his closest friend, also a Christian from Midland, is in his cabinet, Commerce Secretary Donald Evans. Bush reads the Bible every morning, and he has said that he reads it through every other year.

Three aspects of Bush's faith stand out. One is his belief that God is in providential control over all that happens, including in his own life. Bush, who describes himself as a "lowly sinner," has told friends and associates that but for God's intervention he would now be in some bar in Texas, not the Oval Office. A second is his belief that, whatever happens in God's providence, he is to accept and carry out each task set before him. Not incidentally, the title of Bush's campaign biography, *A Charge to Keep*, was drawn from "A Charge to Keep I Have," the Charles Wesley hymn, which speaks of doing "my Master's will" and fulfilling "my calling." After the attacks of September 11, Bush believed that the charge of defending freedom had fallen providentially to him, as commander in chief of the United States, and this remains for Bush his highest priority. Yet even this task he sees in terms of a third aspect of his faith: neighbor-love. For Bush, "love your neighbor"—the second great commandment for Christians—is an injunction to be followed in every human task, however big or small it may be. In this understanding, Bush is hardly exceptional, for loving your neighbor is the calling of every Christian.

In his Inaugural Address, Bush made reference to the parable of the Good Samaritan, which Jesus related in response to a question based on the second great com-

mandment, that question being the obvious one, "Who is my neighbor?" Bush pledged the nation to a goal: "When we see that wounded traveler on the road to Jericho, we will not pass to the other side." In making that pledge, Bush assumed that people can need help for many reasons. Their wounds can be self-inflicted or inflicted by others (as was the case with the traveler helped by the Samaritan). In any case, as he said in the speech, "where there is suffering, there is duty."

In the second week of his presidency, Bush announced the Faith-Based and Community Initiative, which he touted as a new approach to helping Americans who are homeless, fatherless, addicted to drugs or alcohol, or otherwise in desperate need. He has described the initiative as "good public policy based upon the willingness of our citizens to love a neighbor just like you'd like to be loved yourself." Bush sees the initiative as one part of an effort to fight poverty, the other part being welfare reform. And he regards fighting poverty as flowing from an approach to governing that, during the campaign, he dubbed "compassionate conservatism." Bush defines compassionate conservatism this way: "It is compassionate to actively help our fellow citizens in need. It is conservative to insist on responsibility and results." Bush also sees the No Child Left Behind Act, which Congress passed in 2002, as compassionate conservatism. And there are many other policies that he has accorded that label—ones dealing with health care, the environment, home ownership, and Social Security. Nor does compassionate conservatism stop at the water's edge, for it includes government aid to poor countries.

Moreover, not every "compassionate" policy is accompanied by the word "conservative." In 2001, when he signed his first tax-cut bill into law, Bush said that "tax relief is compassionate," explaining that it helps "families struggling to enter the middle class" and "middle-class families squeezed by high energy prices and credit-card debt." Likewise, in December 2003, when he signed the new prescription-drug benefit into law, he said that the reforms in the bill "are the act of a vibrant and compassionate government." He explained: "We show our concern for the dignity of our seniors by giving them quality health care" and "our respect for seniors by giving them more choices and more control over their decision-making." Or consider the Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2003. In his signing statement, Bush said, the bill "protecting innocent new life from [partial-birth abortion] reflects the compassion and humanity of America." Just recently Bush added to his list of compassionate policies yet another—"defending the sanctity of life," which may entail support for a constitutional amendment declaring that marriage is the union of a man and a woman.

In his 2003 State of the Union Address, Bush said, "The qualities of courage and compassion that we strive for in America also determine our conduct abroad. . . . Our founders dedicated this country to the cause of human dignity, the rights of every person, and the possibilities of every life. This conviction leads us into the world to help the afflicted and defend the peace, and confound the designs of evil men." Bush has sought to help the afflicted by stepping up U.S. involvement in the international battles against famine and AIDS. To fight "desperate hunger," as Bush has put it, the United States is now providing more than $1.4 billion a year in global emergency food aid. To fight AIDS, Bush has begun carrying out a relief program designed to prevent the disease from breaking out on a massive scale and to treat millions who already have what he calls "a plague of nature." Bush surprised almost everyone by the magnitude of the $15 billion request he submitted to Congress last year for this program. Asked to explain his decision to insert the United States so deeply into what he has called "a work of mercy," Bush told the *Ladies' Home Journal*, "The Bible talks about love and compassion. That's really a lot behind my passion on AIDS policy."

As for confounding the designs of evil men, Bush has moved Washington into the peace talks in Sudan, where the National Islamic Front government has waged a brutal civil war against a largely Christian and animist population that has claimed the lives of more than two million people. And he has ramped up the government's efforts to curtail human and sex trafficking, which, in his speech last fall to the United Nations General Assembly, he condemned as "a form of slavery." Bush has pledged $50 million to support "the good work of organizations that are rescuing women and children from exploitation and giving them shelter and medical treatment and the hope of a new life."

Of course, the universe of evil men includes terrorists, who have designs upon innocent people beyond the more than 3,000 killed by the attacks of September 11. They have continued to murder innocent people, a point Bush made last year in his speech at Whitehall when he cited the post-9/11 terrorist attacks in Bali, Jakarta, Casablanca, Bombay, Mombassa, Najaf, Jerusalem, Riyadh, Baghdad, and Istanbul. And, by every reckoning, the terrorists intend to kill more innocents. As Bush sees it, both justice, because what the terrorists do is evil, and compassion, because their evil is committed against innocent people, demand a military response.

The universe of evil men also includes oppressive rulers. Discussing the war in Afghanistan, Bush told a Connecticut audience that the United States liberated an innocent people oppressed by a barbaric regime. "We're

compassionate," he said. "We care deeply about our fellow citizens in this world." While Bush justified the war in Iraq mainly on grounds involving weapons of mass destruction, he also thought he was saving the Iraqi people from an evil man. Over the decades, Saddam Hussein had killed and maimed millions of Iraqis. During a press conference in December, Bush said, "I believe, firmly believe —and you've heard me say this a lot, and I say it a lot because I truly believe it—that freedom is the almighty God's gift to every person—every man and woman who lives in this world. That's what I believe." He added that "the arrest of Saddam Hussein changed the equation in Iraq. Justice was being delivered to a man who denied that gift from the Almighty to the people of Iraq." Justice was being delivered to Saddam, and, to place Bush's remarks in larger context, compassion was being shown to the Iraqi people. Nor does compassion stop with liberation. For Bush, it includes efforts to establish the kind of institutions in which "the rights of every person" can be protected. It envisions the spread of democracy.

Asked last summer by *Christianity Today* to describe Bush's foreign policy, Don Evans said, "It's love your neighbor like yourself. The neighbor happens to be everyone on the planet."

In a speech last summer to leaders of faith-based organizations, Bush fairly summed up both halves of his neighbor-love presidency: "The mission at home is to help those who hurt, and make the vast potential of America available to every citizen. The mission abroad is to use our good heart and good conscience and not turn our back away when we see suffering."

Don Evans described Bush's foreign policy as "love your neighbor like yourself. The neighbor happens to be everyone on the planet."

This, then, is Bush's love-thy-neighbor presidency, and there are aspects of it that deserve closer scrutiny. Consider, to begin with, that in many instances government employees are the ones showing compassion—prosecutors who bring sex-trafficking cases, say, or soldiers who fight terrorists. In still other contexts, compassion lies in a remodeled government—in lowered tax rates, for example. With the faith-based and community initiative, however, the point is to rally private "armies of compassion." As Bush said in his Inaugural Address, the work of compassion is that of a people, not just a government.

Historically, the work of compassion in America has been mainly that of a religious people acting through private groups. But with the rise of big government and the welfare state, religious charities have played a less prominent role. Bush's initiative contemplates a fuller employment of those organizations. Funding is crucial, and Bush has moved to stimulate charitable giving in the hope that more contributions will flow to religious charities, so as to enlarge their stores of compassion. He also wants to ensure that religious charities can compete for government grants on an equal basis with secular ones.

In 2001 the White House issued a report concluding that federal grant-making procedures often discriminated against religious charities on account of their religion. The administration thus has embraced the principle that where government assistance is generally available, religious groups eligible for it can't be discriminated against on account of religion. Because Congress has refused to legislate this principle, Bush has resorted to executive orders and regulations to establish it throughout the government. He has also adopted rules designed to protect the rights of religious charities to hire the individuals who in their judgment are best able to further their goals.

Bush often talks about "the power of faith to change a life," and he believes that faith-based groups can make a "unique contribution" in ameliorating stubborn social problems. Indeed, he has characterized himself as a "one-man faith-based initiative," the point being that his faith, and perhaps also the community of faith in Midland, helped him pull his life together. But the faith-based initiative isn't designed for Christian charities only and, indeed, given the principles that inform the initiative, it couldn't be. Bush himself has been quite clear on this point. "It doesn't matter what the religion is," he said on one occasion. And, on another, "I don't talk a particular faith." Religious charities of any and all faiths may apply for grants. Nor is there a preference for religious charities over nonreligious ones. "Our plan," he said early in 2001, "will not favor religious institutions over nonreligious institutions." In sum, as he said in a speech to leaders of charities last summer: "All groups should be able to compete on a level playing field, whether faith-based or secular."

Precisely because there is now a level playing field—because the field no longer tilts against religious charities —the likelihood is that they will receive more grants than they have in recent decades. Whether we will go all the way back to a future in which the work of compassion is once again mainly the work of religious charities, though now receiving more government funding, is unclear. Yet

the future, as Bush would have it, will unfold guided by principles of pluralism. As he said in a 1999 speech on compassionate conservatism, "We will keep a commitment to pluralism—not discriminating for or against Methodists or Mormons or Muslims, or good people of no faith at all."

There happens to be a compelling theological argument for Bush's "principled pluralism," as the president's chief speechwriter, Michael Gerson, has called it. But the deeper point about Bush's faith-based and community initiative lies in its assumption that neighbor-love is a precept intelligible to all individuals, regardless of what they believe or don't believe. Bush routinely speaks of "the universal call" to love one's neighbor, meaning that it is found in all faiths as well as in secular teachings. (He has not elaborated the point, but he would find the resources to do so in C.S. Lewis's *The Abolition of Man*, which, under "the law of general beneficence," cites a variety of both religious and nonreligious sources.) Bush believes not only that persons of all faiths—or no faith—can respond to that universal call, but also that they can act upon it and do good works. More than a few religious conservatives would doubt whether "unregenerate" man can do much good. On the other hand, a defense of Bush might be that what motivates him as a theological virtue he commends generally as the civic virtue of neighborliness. In any case, Bush's bottom line is practical. Faith without works is dead. "The measure of true compassion," Bush often says, "is results."

Bush believes that persons of all faiths—or no faith—can respond to that universal call, and act upon it and do good works.

The principles that the Bush administration is advancing on behalf of the faith-based and community initiative are being applied in many other contexts. Consider that the Federal Emergency Management Agency has changed the way it awards direct aid to properties damaged by natural disaster. Now it will provide aid under "genuinely neutral criteria" so that religious institutions are not discriminated against. The National Park Service has made a similar policy change; no longer does it refuse to award historic preservation grants to churches or other religious institutions simply because they are religious. And in *Zelman* v. *Harris*, decided in 2002, the Justice Department won from the Supreme Court a vindication of the nondiscrimination principle in a school voucher case. *Zelman* means that voucher programs encompassing church-related schools are constitutional so long as they are "neutral"—i.e., offering a "genuine choice among options, public and private, secular and religious."

Meanwhile, the Justice Department has sought to protect religious liberty by more aggressive enforcement of statutes forbidding religion-based discrimination. In an increasingly pluralistic nation, the beneficiaries of the department's actions have included Christians, Muslims, Jews, and Buddhists.

Bush is also interested in advancing religious liberty overseas. Indeed, it is in the context of foreign policy that the president has spoken most often about religious liberty, no doubt because it is abroad that so many denials of it, many even unto death, routinely occur. In his remarks on this subject, Bush has called religious liberty "the first freedom of the human soul." And when you open up his National Security Strategy of the United States, you find that it calls for "special efforts to promote freedom of religion and conscience and defend it from encroachment by repressive governments." For no other freedom does the strategy call for such "special efforts"—efforts, it is fair to say, that Bush sees as benefiting wounded travelers on many roads.

Of course, Bush will not find in the Scriptures a doctrine of religious liberty, for the Bible advises instead as to what man owes God. Nonetheless, a doctrine of liberty can be developed from the need to ensure that man can in fact exercise "the duty which we owe to our Creator," as the Virginia Declaration of Rights famously put it. Bush stands in a long and distinguished tradition stretching back to that document (and before) when he says, as he did in that December press conference after Saddam's capture, that "freedom is the almighty God's gift to every person." (Compare Thomas Jefferson, who said man's "liberties are the gift of God," and John F. Kennedy, who said "the rights of man come . . . from the hand of God.") For Bush, the freedom God gives includes religious liberty, probably first, but also freedom of speech, assembly, and the rest. It is on behalf of human rights abroad that Bush's love-thy-neighbor presidency shows ardent, if not always consistent, zeal.

And, as the case of Iraq demonstrates, it also wields a sword. Bush believes the war satisfied "just war" principles. The most important just-war theorist was Augustine, who argued that love does not foreclose "a war of mercy," indeed that it is in the nature of love to protect an innocent third party from oppression, by force if necessary. Liberating the people of Iraq from Saddam wasn't Bush's main public argument for the war. But it may have been a powerful motivation. Bush conceives of the United States as "a power," as he put it in his Inaugural Address, "that [goes] into the world to protect, but not

possess, to defend, but not to conquer." In his 2003 State of the Union, he observed that "we sacrifice for the liberty of strangers." The ultimate sacrifice—the Scripture says there is no greater love than this—is to lay down one's life for another.

To say that neighbor-love motivates Bush is not to say that it justifies particular policies or actions he's described as compassionate. Neighbor-love is a principle of high generality. Put a bunch of people around a table, give them the principle, ask them to devise a policy to address Problem X, and you may get as many proposals as you have people. Most of Bush's "compassionate" policies have drawn disagreement, often sharp. Consider, for example, the debate over tax cuts or the No Child Left Behind legislation. Moreover, the faith-based initiative itself has divided religious conservatives in his own party: Fearing the church would be entangled with the state, not a few have objected to the use of direct grants and contended that vouchers and tax credits should be emphasized instead. Or consider the war in Iraq, to which there is outright objection in some evangelical circles. The work of justifying a particular policy is the business of politics, not faith, though faith can suggest, as it has for Bush, areas where policy might be needed.

The wonder is how many policies Bush presents as compassionate. In some cases—home ownership, for example—you wonder why the label is even there, unless it's to impress on voters that the Democrats aren't the only party of concern and care. In any case, Bush's emphasis on compassion seems to have come at some cost to conservatism. Bush hasn't vetoed a single spending bill (or any bill, for that matter), and his compassionate prescription-drug benefit is going to cost not what he first said it would, $400 million over the next 10 years but, according to the latest administration estimate, at least $500 million. Overall government spending has grown substantially, bulking up the deficit.

Conservative arguments about the size and limits of government, including those based on constitutional authority, are seldom heard from this administration. Indeed, the rhetoric sometimes cuts the other way. Bush has gone so far as to proclaim that "there is no question that we can rid this nation of hopelessness and despair." Granted, he says we don't need big government programs to do that—he thinks we the people can achieve it on our own, or perhaps with assistance from faith-based charities. But the goal he has articulated is one Democrats can enthusiastically agree with, even as they outbid him with more federal money and programs.

It is overseas where the Bush presidency is most ambitious and would appear in need of a limiting principle. For if, as Donald Evans says, our neighbor is "everyone on the planet," then the work of compassion is a daunting, even bankrupting, task, more than our military as currently supported can take on, and perhaps more than the American people are willing to support. Even so, it is the work of the Bush presidency abroad that truly distinguishes it. The Framers of the Constitution conceived of the executive as an office suitable for "arduous" and "extensive" undertakings of great public benefit, and there can be no question that the effort not just to defend the nation against further terrorist attack but also to liberate countries from oppressive regimes and plant seeds of democracy in places where terrorists take sanctuary and breed is arduous and extensive. And the efforts to counter AIDS and curtail human and sex trafficking aren't exactly minor.

Suffice it to say, the Democrats aren't intimidated by Bush's neighbor-love presidency, at least not by the domestic side of it. With his "Two Americas" speech—"one favored, the other forgotten"—John Edwards has made compassion his central theme, and now that Edwards is nipping at John Kerry's heels, the Massachusetts senator is copying the North Carolinian. After narrowly winning the primary in Wisconsin, Kerry talked about how "you could just feel the pain" Americans were experiencing. He said "the heart had been ripped out of the heartland," and that, after repealing the tax-rate cuts for those making more than $200,000, he would invest in education, health care, and other programs. The fall campaign is likely to be fought over the very issues on which Bush has taken "compassionate" positions—taxes, poverty, health care, education, and the environment. Indeed, the Democrats may take the next step and declare, as Howard Dean did, that Bush has not been "my neighbor" because his policies have been inadequate or injurious. A party struggling for a way to peel off more moderate, religiously observant voters, who supported Bush in 2000, very well might take that step.

Whether the Democrats can win on economic and domestic issues alone is another matter. As Bush insists, the measure of compassion is results, and even if the Democrats can persuade voters on health care or education or jobs, the results of Bush's national security efforts have benefited the American people. They are concrete and, indeed, of world-historical importance, for they include the liberation of Afghanistan and Iraq and the spread of human rights to places where no one would have thought that possible.

In any case, the big story this year will be either the rejection or the reelection of a Republican president motivated by an ancient yet enduring ethic. ♦

Saddam's Ambassador to al Qaeda

An Iraqi prisoner details Saddam's links to Osama bin Laden's terror network

By Jonathan Schanzer

A recently intercepted message from Iraq-based terrorist Abu Musab al Zarqawi asking the al Qaeda leadership for reinforcements reignited the debate over al Qaeda ties with Saddam Hussein's fallen Baath regime. William Safire of the *New York Times* called the message a "smoking gun," while the University of Michigan's Juan Cole says that Safire "offers not even one document to prove" the Saddam-al Qaeda nexus. What you are about to read bears directly on that debate. It is based on a recent interview with Abdul Rahman al-Shamari, who served in Saddam's secret police, the Mukhabarat, from 1997 to 2002, and is currently sitting in a Kurdish prison. Al-Shamari says that he worked for a man who was Saddam's envoy to al Qaeda.

Before recounting details from my January 29 interview, some caution is necessary. Al-Shamari's account was compelling and filled with specific information that would either make him a skilled and detailed liar or a man with information that the U.S. public needs to hear. My Iraqi escort informed me that al-Shamari has been in prison since March 2002, that U.S. officials have visited him several times, and that his story has remained consistent. There was little language barrier; my Arabic skills allowed me to understand much of what al-Shamari said, even before translation. Finally, subsequent conversations with U.S. government officials in Washington and Baghdad, as well as several articles written well before this one, indicate that al-Shamari's claims have been echoed by other sources throughout Iraq.

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When I walked into the tiny interrogation room, it was midmorning. I had just finished interviews with two other prisoners—both members of Ansar al Islam, the al Qaeda affiliate responsible for attacks against Kurdish and Western targets in northern Iraq. The group had been active in a small enclave near Halabja in the Kurdistan region from about September 2001 until the U.S. assault on Iraq last spring, when its Arab and Kurdish fighters fled over the Iranian border, only to return after the war. U.S. officials now suspect Ansar in some of the bloodier attacks against U.S. interests throughout Iraq.

My first question to al-Shamari was whether he was involved in the operations of Ansar al Islam. My translator asked him the question in Arabic, and al-Shamari nodded: "Yes." Al-Shamari, who appears to be in his late twenties, said that his division of the Mukhabarat provided weapons to Ansar, "mostly mortar rounds." This statement echoed an independent Kurdish report from July 2002 alleging that ordnance seized from Ansar al Islam was produced by Saddam's military and a *Guardian* article several weeks later alleging that truckloads of arms were shipped to Ansar from areas controlled by Saddam.

In addition to weapons, al-Shamari said, the Mukhabarat also helped finance Ansar al Islam. "On one occasion we gave them ten million Swiss dinars [$700,000]," al-Shamari said, referring to the pre-1990 Iraqi currency. On other occasions, the Mukhabarat provided more than that. The assistance, he added, was furnished "every month or two months."

I then picked up a picture of a man known as Abu Wael that I had acquired from Kurdish intelligence. In the course of my research, several sources had claimed that Abu Wael was on Saddam's payroll and was also an al Qaeda operative, but few had any facts to back up their claim. For example, one Arabic daily, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, stated flatly before the Iraq war, "all information

indicates [that Abu Wael] was the link between al Qaeda and the Iraqi regime" but neglected to provide any such information. Agence France-Presse after the war cited a Kurdish security chief's description of Abu Wael as a "key link to Saddam's former Baath regime" and an "intelligence agent for the ousted president originally from Baghdad." Again, nothing was provided to substantiate this claim.

In my own analysis of this group, I could do little but weakly assert that Wael was "reportedly an al Qaeda operative on Saddam's payroll." The best reporting on Wael came from a March 2002 *New Yorker* article by Jeffrey Goldberg, who had visited a Kurdish prison in northern Iraq and interviewed Ansar prisoners. He spoke with one Iraqi intelligence officer named Qassem Hussein Muhammed, whom Kurdish intelligence captured while he was on his way to the Ansar enclave. Muhammed told Goldberg that Abu Wael was "the actual decision-maker" for Ansar al Islam and "an employee of the Mukhabarat."


Abu Wael

"Do you know this man?" I asked al-Shamari. His eyes widened and he smiled. He told me that he knew the man in the picture, but that his graying beard was now completely white. He said that the man was Abu Wael, whose full name is Colonel Saadan Mahmoud Abdul Latif al-Aani. The prisoner told me that he had worked for Abu Wael, who was the leader of a special intelligence directorate in the Mukhabarat. That directorate provided assistance to Ansar al Islam at the behest of Saddam Hussein, whom Abu Wael had met "four or five times." Al-Shamari added that "Abu Wael's wife is Izzat al-Douri's cousin," making him a part of Saddam's inner circle. Al-Douri, of course, was the deputy chairman of Saddam's Revolutionary Command Council, a high-ranking official in Iraq's armed forces, and Saddam's righthand man. Originally number six on the most wanted list, he is still believed to be at large in Iraq, and is suspected of coordinating aspects of insurgency against American troops, primarily in the Sunni triangle.

Why, I asked, would Saddam task one of his intelligence agents to work with the Kurds, an ethnic group that was an avowed enemy of the Baath regime, and had clashed with Iraqi forces on several occasions? Al-Shamari said that Saddam wanted to create chaos in the pro-American Kurdish region. In other words, he used Ansar al Islam as a tool against the Kurds. As an intelligence official for the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (one of the two major parties in northern Iraq) explained to me, "Most of the Kurdish fighters in Ansar al Islam didn't know the link to Saddam." They believed they were fighting a local jihad. Only the high-level lieutenants were aware that Abu Wael was involved.

Al-Shamari also told me that the links between Saddam's regime and the al Qaeda network went beyond Ansar al Islam. He explained in considerable detail that Saddam actually ordered Abu Wael to organize foreign fighters from outside Iraq to join Ansar. Al-Shamari estimated that some 150 foreign fighters were imported from al Qaeda clusters in Jordan, Turkey, Syria, Yemen, Egypt, and Lebanon to fight with Ansar al Islam's Kurdish fighters.

I asked him who came from Lebanon. "I don't know the name of the group," he replied. "But the man we worked with was named Abu Aisha." Al-Shamari was likely referring to Bassam Kanj, alias Abu Aisha, who was a little-known militant of the Dinniyeh group, a faction of the Lebanese al Qaeda affiliate Asbat al Ansar. Kanj was killed in a January 2000 battle with Lebanese forces.

Al-Shamari said that there was also contact with the Egyptian "Gamaat al-Jihad," which is now seen as the core of al Qaeda's leadership, as well as with the Algerian Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC), which bin Laden helped create in 1998 as an alternative to Algeria's Armed Islamic Group (GIA). Al-Shamari talked of Abu Wael's links with Turkey's "Jamaa al-Khilafa"—likely the group also known as the "Union of Islamic Communities" (UIC) or the "Organization of Caliphate State." This terror group, established in 1983 by Cemalettin Kaplan, reportedly met with bin Laden in Afghanistan in 1997, and later sent cadres there to train. Three years before 9/11, UIC plotted to crash a plane into Ankara's Ataturk Mausoleum on a day when hundreds of Turkish officials were present.

Al-Shamari stated that Abu Wael sometimes traveled to meet with these groups. All of them, he added, visited Wael in Iraq and were provided Iraqi visas. This corroborates an interview I had with a senior PUK official in April 2003, who stated that many of the Arab fighters captured or killed during the war held passports with Iraqi visas.

The UIC reportedly met with bin Laden in Afghanistan in 1997, and later sent cadres there to train. Three years before 9/11, the group plotted to crash a plane into Ankara's Ataturk Mausoleum.

Al-Shamari said that importing foreign fighters to train in Iraq was part of his job in the Mukhabarat. The fighters trained in Salman Pak, a facility located some 20 miles southeast of Baghdad. He said that he had personal knowledge of 500 fighters that came through Salman Pak dating back to the late 1990s; they trained in "urban combat, explosives, and car bombs." This account agrees with a White House Background Paper on Iraq dated September 12, 2002, which cited the "highly secret terrorist training facility in Iraq known as Salman Pak, where both Iraqis and non-Iraqi Arabs receive training on hijacking planes and trains, planting explosives in cities, sabotage, and assassinations."

Abu Wael also sent money to the aforementioned al Qaeda affiliates, and to other groups that "worked against the United States." Abu Wael dispensed most of the funds himself, al-Shamari said, but there was also some cooperation with Abu Musab al Zarqawi.

Zarqawi, as the prisoner explained, was al Qaeda's link to Iraq in the same way that Abu Wael was the Iraqi link to al Qaeda. Indeed, Zarqawi (who received medical attention in Baghdad in 2002 for wounds that he suffered from U.S. forces in Afghanistan) and Abu Wael helped Ansar al Islam prepare for the U.S. assault on its small enclave last year. According to al-Shamari, Ansar was given the plan from the top Iraqi leadership: "If the U.S. was to hit [the Ansar base], the fighters were directed to go to Ramadi, Tikrit, Mosul . . . Faluja and other places." This statement agreed with a prior prisoner interview I had with the attempted murderer of Barham Salih, prime minister of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. This second prisoner told me that "Ansar had plans to go south if the U.S. would attack."

Al-Shamari said the new group was to be named Jund ash-Sham, and would deal mainly in explosives. He believed that Zarqawi and Abu Wael were responsible for some of the attacks against U.S. soldiers in central Iraq. "Their directives were to hit America and American interests," he said.

Al-Shamari claimed to have had prior information about al Qaeda attacks in the past. "I knew about the attack on the American in Jordan," he said, referring to the November 2002 assassination of USAID official Lawrence Foley. "Zarqawi," he said, "ordered that man to be killed."

These are some of the highlights from my interview, which lasted about 45 minutes.

I heard one other salient Abu Wael anecdote in an earlier interview during my eight-day trip to Iraq. That interview was with the former tenth-in-command for Ansar al Islam, a man known simply as Qods. In June 2003, just before he was arrested and put in the jail where I met him, Qods said that he saw Abu Wael. After the war, Abu Wael dispatched him from an Ansar safe house in Ravansar, Iran, to deliver a message to his son in Baghdad. The message: Ansar al Islam leaders needed help getting back into Iraq. It was only then, he said, when he met Abu Wael's son, that he learned of the link between the Baathists and al Qaeda.

Qods told me that he was angry with the leaders of Ansar for hiding its ties to Saddam. "Ansar had lots of secret ties between the Baath and Arab leaders," he said.

The challenge now is to document the claims of these witnesses about the secret ties between Saddam, al Qaeda, and Abu Wael. A number of U.S. officials have indicated to me that there are other Iraqis who have similar stories to tell. Perhaps they can corroborate Abdul Rahman al-Shamari's account. Meanwhile, the U.S. deck of cards representing Iraq's 55 most wanted appears to be one card short. Colonel Saadan Mahmoud Abdul Latif al-Aani, aka Abu Wael, should be number 56. ♦

Good Fences Make Good Neighbors

For once, Israelis agree about something

By Peter Berkowitz

Jerusalem

In Israeli politics, contentiousness is the norm and consensus is rare. This makes all the more striking the broad and deep consensus that has formed among Israelis around the conviction that the country, without delay, must complete the construction of the security fence separating it from the West Bank and the Palestinians who live there.

The cause of the consensus is terror. In the old days, before September 2000, it was a mark of the country's national security challenge that almost every adult Israeli had served in the military, and every Israeli had friends and loved ones in the army. These days, the distinguishing mark of the country's national security challenge is something grimmer: Almost every Israeli knows somebody who has been wounded, maimed, or blown to bits by a suicide bomber. For Israelis, the front line is now at home, and it is this transformation of their struggle with the Palestinians that has produced an overwhelming majority—perhaps two thirds of the citizenry—in favor of the security fence.

Predictably, the international community is up in arms. Last December, the United Nations General Assembly voted to refer the question of the legality of Israel's security fence to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion. Working on a greatly expedited schedule, the court set a deadline of January 30 for briefs, with oral arguments to begin on February 23. The Palestinians charge that the fence violates international law, infringes their human rights, and imposes on them grave social and economic hardship. The United States, along with many other nations, opposes the referral of the question to the court on the grounds that the court is, at this time, an inappropriate forum for the question. While the European Union is among the group that opposes involving the court, its representatives have made clear that the E.U. agrees with the Palestinians on many of their charges.

In fact, the case for Israel's security fence is clear and compelling and accounts for the dramatic convergence of Israeli opinion in support of it.

Yet as late as three years ago, almost nobody in Israel was thinking about a fence, in part because it contravenes both left-wing and right-wing views. Those who have embraced the fence from the left have been forced to relinquish their dream of Israelis and Palestinians integrating their economies, traveling daily across open borders, and living together in harmony. And those who have come to it from the right have had to abandon the ambition to maintain Israeli control over, and settlement in, all or most of the disputed territories without partition.

The catalyst for both camps has been the staggering scale of Palestinian terrorism since late September 2000. In the war launched by the Palestinians following Yasser Arafat's rejection of Prime Minister Ehud Barak's offer of a Palestinian state in all of Gaza, almost all of the West Bank, and a good portion of the Old City in Jerusalem, more than 900 Israelis have been killed and more than 6,000 have been wounded. In a country of about 6.4 million, that is the equivalent of almost 40,000 dead and a quarter of a million wounded in the United States.

Retired Major General Uzi Dayan, former head of Israel's National Security Council, the fence's original architect in 2001, and its foremost defender today, calls the fence "a precondition to everything." By making Israel more secure, he argues, the fence—one third of which has been built and all of which is due to be completed by the end of 2005—will advance the peace process and thereby serve the interests of Palestinians as well as Israelis. But his first priority, he

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Getty / Uriel Sinai

Palestinian shepherds navigate the security fence in the West Bank town of Qalqilya

emphasizes, is Israel's security, which he smoothly translates into the language of human rights. "The basic human right is to live. So before talking about human rights and disturbing the daily routine of Palestinians, which is an issue we need to remember, we need to fight terrorism effectively."

Looking over a winding stretch of the security fence not far from his home in the village of Cochav Yair, where the coastal plain turns into rolling hills and where Israel is at its narrowest, with less than 10 miles from the sea to the Green Line, the pre-1967 border based on the 1949 armistice line, Dayan tells me that "the fence is the ultimate obstacle. The only way to fight terrorism effectively is to build a fence, because you can't fight terrorism just offensively. You need a defense. And the best defense is a fence."

What makes Dayan so confident that the fence will be effective? "We built it everywhere in every place when we wanted to prevent infiltration: all along the Jordan River; in the Golan Heights; on the border from Lebanon we built it in eight months from the Mediterranean Sea to Mount Hermon. And the ultimate example is Gaza. In the last three and a half years, not even one terrorist managed to infiltrate from Gaza and to commit a suicide bombing or a terrorist attack. And there were dozens of attempts. Very few even managed to cross the fence." In addition, Dayan points out, terrorist attacks have been dramatically reduced in those areas of the West Bank where the fence has been completed.

Although critics casually refer to it as a wall, in fact more than 95 percent of the barrier that Israel is building around the West Bank is made out of chain-link fence. Not ordinary chain-link fence, to be sure. It is electrified so that when an intruder touches it, Israeli forces are alerted. In addition, on the Palestinian or east side of the fence, the Israelis have dug an anti-vehicle trench. To the immediate west, they have placed a sandy path, which soldiers patrol looking for signs of footprints. Beyond that is a paved two-lane road for military use, and beyond the road is another fence, in some places chain link and in others barbed wire. Further back, cameras mounted on towers monitor the entire system, which is about 50 meters in width. Where there is danger of sniper fire from a Palestinian city that borders an Israeli highway, or where the space is lacking, the Israelis construct instead a concrete wall.

For Dayan, there is no question about the urgency of completing the fence. The problem, he concedes, is the route. The only serious question that divides the newly consolidated Israeli majority is how far the fence should extend into the West Bank in order to bring within its protection Israelis in the settlements.

Dayan—like much of the Israeli military establishment, a man of the left—favors a fence that sticks close to the Green Line. Although he does not regard the Green Line, which runs through villages and corresponds to no natural boundary, as sacrosanct, a security fence that roughly corresponds to it will be considerably shorter, require less time and cost to build, intrude less on Palestinian life, be easier to defend, and generate less international opprobrium than the route advocated by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. While security was uppermost in his mind when he was designing the fence in 2001, Dayan sought to include as few Palestinians as possible on Israel's side, and to minimize hardships. He is pleased that in recent days the Sharon government has scaled back its plan for including Palestinian villages near Israel.

But Dayan stresses that all this is secondary for him: "I never buy the excuse of not building a fence because of conflict about the route of the fence. Which means I'm saying to my government: 'I'm sick and tired. I don't want to hear from you there is a problem, there is debate in the government. [Minister of Justice Yosef] Lapid thinks one way. [Minister of Defense Shaul] Mofaz says another approach. I say just build it. Decide about it. Talk to the Americans. Talk to the Palestinians. Talk among yourselves, for God's sake. But decide upon the route and build it.'"

Zuma Press / Kevin Unger

The barrier winds through the village of Abu Dis.

There is harshness in Dayan's words. But there is also hope. By stopping terrorist attacks, he explains, the fence may strengthen the hand of Palestinian moderates who on their own are powerless to bring Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and the Al Aksa Martyrs Brigade under control.

Meanwhile, the U.N. General Assembly, in the eyes of many thoughtful Israelis, has played into the hands of the extremists. When it placed the matter before the International Court of Justice, the General Assembly took the issue away from the Israeli and Palestinian negotiators charged with it under several U.N. Security Council Resolutions and agreements among the parties, including the U.S.-backed "road map." According to Daniel Taub, director of the General Legal Division at Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "there have been repeated attempts by Palestinians and the Arab group to refer issues in the conflict between us to international forums and specifically the International Court of Justice as part of a general campaign to internationalize the issues." In Taub's view, no good can come of this. In the first place, he argues, the court does not have jurisdiction: No dispute between states is supposed to come before the court without the consent of both parties. Moreover, the referral of the question of the legality of the fence shows bad faith, because the General Assembly had already passed a resolution condemning the fence as illegal.

Sitting across from Taub in his cramped office in Jerusalem, I ask him about a report of the U.N. secretary general summarizing the legal positions of the "Government of Israel" and the "Palestine Liberation Organization." Taub bristles. He tells me that the report badly misstates the Israeli legal position. Then, indignant, he reads me a passage indicating that there should be no tradeoffs between Israeli security and Palestinian freedom, that Israel must desist from any undertakings that infringe Palestinian rights or cause them hardships, even undertakings that Israel has concluded are necessary to defend itself from Palestinian acts of war.

More serious perhaps is the failure of the dossier put together by the United Nations to serve as the basis for the court's work to so much as mention Palestinian terror. A Ministry of Foreign Affairs statement that summarizes the legal position Israel adopted in its 130-page brief to the court (still confidential under court rules) minces no words:

> Neither the question referred to the Court, nor the 20-paragraph General Assembly resolution referring it, makes any reference—not a single word—to the ongoing terrorism directed daily against Israel and its citizens. Similarly the extensive dossier of 88 documents on the question provided to the Court by the United Nations is, staggeringly, totally silent on the subject of Palestinian terrorist attacks. It is devoid of any of the United Nations resolutions condemning terrorism, as well as Israel's letters to the Secretary General detailing the terror attacks it has faced.

And this silence, Israel contends, is a fatal flaw:

It is inconceivable that the International Court of Justice should be requested to give an Advisory Opinion on the issue of Israel's security fence at the behest of the very terrorist organization which has been actively behind many of the murderous attacks which have made the fence necessary. It is even more inconceivable that the request should make no reference at all to the brutal reality of terrorism faced by Israel.

To the charge that Israel's fence is an effort to grab land by creating facts on the ground, Taub responds that a fence that was built right on top of the Green Line would be impractical, cutting through villages, running through valleys, and generally bearing no relation to security, topography, or the needs of daily life. Moreover, Taub emphasizes, the fence brings about no legal change in the status of the territories or the status of the residents, either Palestinians or Israelis who live in settlements. It is temporary, it can be moved and altogether dismantled. And it is not a border. It does not alter Israel's responsibility to protect settlements. And it does not alter ownership of the land on which it is built, which, when privately owned, becomes subject to a temporary requisition order. Israel pays compensation to the owners for use of the land and loss of profits. And Israel makes procedures available to Palestinians who wish to lodge protests against the fence's route. To date, 20 petitions have been submitted to Israel's High Court of Justice.

Further, argues Taub, it is not Israel that is trying to establish a political border but the Palestinians, who insist that, if there is to be a fence, it be built on the Green Line. The Green Line, Taub points out, was never intended to be a final legal border. U.N. resolutions, formal agreements between Israel and the Palestinians, and the road map are, he asserts, "absolutely clear" that the final determination of the border is a subject to be negotiated between the two sides. But won't the fence, whatever Israel's formal position, come to be thought of as a border by both sides to the conflict? Won't it, whatever Israel's intention, create facts on the ground? Taub is not moved. "You can't not fight terrorism—which is a precondition for entering into negotiations—and expect to receive your maximum demands from negotiations."

To the charge that the fence causes disproportional harm to the Palestinians, Taub insists that Israel recognizes genuine hardships and is taking great pains to minimize them. Planning for the route of the fence begins with the army, but before the government approves plans they must undergo an arduous process of adjustment, which involves several layers of consultation—with environmental experts, legal experts, and the local population. Alternative routes are explored, additional gates are considered, increased bus service is examined. The fence has already been moved twice in order to put Palestinian villages on the Palestinian side. And in Abu Dis, an Arab neighborhood most of which lies just beyond the Green Line, Israel is building a new kidney dialysis center for Palestinians cut off by the security fence from the old one.

Like Uzi Dayan, Taub insists that in the long run Palestinians too will benefit from the fence, for with the reduction in terrorism, Israel will need to take fewer intrusive measures in the West Bank. And to the extent that you take terrorism out of the equation, you weaken the militants and strengthen the moderates.

Shlomo Avineri, a distinguished political scientist at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and former director-general of Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, won't go as far as Dayan or Taub. He is a self-styled dove who was "rattled" by Camp David 2000. He considers Arafat's decision to go to war rather than accept Barak's offer a watershed moment in Israel's history, and he adamantly supports the fence. Typical of the left-leaning segment of the Israeli consensus, he wants it built as close as possible to the Green Line. But he dismisses the idea of Palestinian moderates. "What is important," says Avineri, "is that there hasn't been a clear statement on the part of any Palestinian leader that suicide bombers are murderers. Not one."

There are, Avineri observes, Palestinian leaders who will say they would recognize Israel if it were to abide by U.N. resolutions and international law. But, he stresses, no other state is spoken of in that way. We say Bosnia or China is in breach of international law, but we do not treat its compliance with international law as a precondition for recognition of its sovereignty. Given current attitudes, and an educational system that continues to instruct children with maps of the Middle East on which Israel does not appear, Israel may have to wait a generation or more, Avineri believes, to find negotiating partners on the Palestinian side.

Khaled Abu Toameh, a prominent Arab-Israeli journalist, takes a still harsher view of the Palestinian side. To be sure, he opposes the fence because of its impact on the Palestinian people, the damage to their livelihood, the restriction of their right to move about freely, the insult to their personal dignity. But to him, the fence is only a symptom of the real problem: the Palestinian leadership.

Of course, he says, Israelis are largely indifferent to Palestinian suffering. Of course Israelis do not really understand that the "ordinary, average Palestinian is a normal person who wants to wake up in the morning, send his children to school, care for his family, go to work, and just lead a normal life. He doesn't care about other

things. The Palestinian Authority. Israel. They are not that important. What is important is not to disrupt normal life. And this fence disrupts normal life. It turns the life of many Palestinians into hell."

Nevertheless, the cause of the fence, Abu Toameh was sure, was not a desire on the part of Israeli majorities to rule over the Palestinians. If he were an Israeli Jew in these circumstances, he would favor a fence. Real responsibility for the construction of the fence, he is quite certain, lies with Yasser Arafat and the thoroughly cynical dictatorship he brought to the Palestinian people 10 years ago on the heels of the Oslo Accords.

But don't the Palestinians recognize Arafat as their legitimate leader? "Look," Abu Toameh says impatiently. "They want independence. They want their own state. But they don't want the corrupt and autocratic regime led by several hundred cronies of Arafat. They are stealing from the Palestinian people. I mean, what has the Palestinian Authority done for the Palestinian people over the last 10 years, since the signing of the Oslo accords? Basically, nothing." Nothing? "Yasser Arafat did not build one hospital. Or one school." Taken aback by his candor, I ask Abu Toameh whether he is speaking precisely. He responds sharply, "I am responsible for what I am saying. Arafat did not do anything. He did not rebuild one refugee camp. And the question is, one should ask, where did the money go? What happened? I mean, he got billions."

En route through East Jerusalem, my cabdriver tells me that the wall has separated his family from his wife's parents, who live just on the other side.

What is to be done? For Abu Toameh the critical first step is clear. "The Palestinian people's problem is their leadership. The Palestinian people's problem with the Israelis is a completely different issue. That could be solved in the long run. And it will be. But in order to solve that problem, and before we solve that problem with the Israelis, we need a proper Palestinian regime, we need proper government, proper institutions, democratic institutions, we need transparency. Basically the Palestinian Authority today is run as a private business by Yasser Arafat. And some of his aides. We need to liberate the Palestinian people, but from their leadership first, and then from the occupation."

Yet in the short term there is no avoiding the question of the security fence and the disputed territories. One afternoon, on the way back to my hotel on Mount Scopus, I ask the cabdriver to pass by Abu Dis, where the security fence is indeed a massive wall. When I ask him, as I do all Israeli cabdrivers, what his opinion of the fence is, he surprises me by responding in heavily Arabic-accented Hebrew. My Arab-Israeli cabdriver, a rarity, tells me that he is definitely opposed to it. En route through East Jerusalem, he says that the wall in Abu Dis has separated his family from his wife's parents, who live just on the other side. A visit that used to involve a few minutes' walk now takes a half hour to 45 minutes by car.

As we approach the wall, he points out shops on Israel's side that have been forced to close and tells me of many others on the Palestinian side that have gone out of business. We drive along the towering, menacing gray structure, 24 feet in height, that has been placed down the center of what used to be a main road, and he tells me that he doesn't know what the solution is, but it can't be this.

He knows there is blame to go around. He is disgusted by Arafat's weakness and ineffectiveness. I ask him whether he is ready for peace. "Ready?" he exclaims. "I live here. I work here. I work among the Arabs. I don't care *who* you are and *what* you are. I have children and a wife. I want to live. With dignity." I ask whether most Palestinians are like him. Without hesitation he says, "Yes." He pulls into a driveway not 10 yards from the fence. And then Abu Yosef, which he explains to me is what all his friends call him, invites me into his home, where I drink coffee with his wife and four shy, wide-eyed children.

I relate this encounter to Alex Yakobson, professor of classical history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a prominent Israeli public intellectual, who over the last decade has migrated from the dovish left to the pragmatic center. He listens patiently. He neither smiles nor frowns. He replies resolutely: "The fence, it is true, is not nice. It is not aesthetic. It is not convenient. I do not underestimate the genuine hardship that it is causing. But it's also not nice when a bus full of passengers is blown up and their limbs and organs—hands and legs and heads—fly for tens of meters in all directions. From a purely moral point of view, nobody's freedom of movement is more precious than somebody else's life."

That indeed is the voice of the Israeli center today. It is a voice that understands that what is not nice may be necessary and proper. It is an increasingly dominant voice in Israel. It is a voice in which anger, sadness, hardness, and humanity blend. Under the circumstances, it is the voice of reason. ♦

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What FDR Wrought

By Robert G. Kaufman

All photos: Public Affairs.

No one doubts the accomplishments of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in American history. The debate among historians and political theorists is entirely about the merits of those accomplishments.

Liberal historians and commentators revere him for leading the United States out of the Great Depression, moving the country away from isolationism, and winning World War II. The dominant school in American history, they see Roosevelt's New Deal as a triumph—economically for restoring America's prosperity; morally for institutionalizing an ethic of common provision that tamed the predatory excesses of democratic capitalism; practically for expanding the powers of the federal government to meet the unprecedented challenges of the modern world for which more traditional American conceptions of limited government were unsuited.

In the realm of foreign policy, many liberals, particularly in the academy, revere Roosevelt not only for what he accomplished, but for what they believe he would have done had he lived to complete his fourth term. According to this line of argument, Roosevelt's vision of international order, rooted in international organizations and the cooperation of the world's "Four Policemen," could have averted the worst excesses of the Cold War with the Soviet Union that the "inordinate fear of Communism" of Roosevelt's successors incited, widened, deepened, and perpetuated.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt
Champion of Freedom
by Conrad Black
Public Affairs, 1,280 pp., $39.95

A small but growing number of recently published works severely criticize Roosevelt, mounting two main lines of attack. Some have assailed Roosevelt for manipulating the United States into World War II. Others see the New Deal as an economic failure that increased the severity and duration of the Depression and laid the foundation for a leviathan state menacing to the economic freedom on which prosperity depends. Conservative internationalists have typically taken an intermediate view of Roosevelt: praising him for his repudiation of isolation and his conduct as a war leader during World War II, but reproaching him for what they consider his naive view of communism and Joseph Stalin.

Now Conrad Black, the embattled Canadian press baron whose company faces a Securities and Exchange Commission investigation, has produced a massive biography of 1,280 pages that largely defies the conventional fault lines on Roosevelt. Written from an unabashedly conservative point of view, Black's *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom* contends that Roosevelt "was the most important person of the twentieth century, because of his accomplishments as one of America's greatest presidents and its most accomplished leader since Lincoln."

The author of Henry Jackson: A Life in Politics, *Robert G. Kaufman will shortly be joining the Pepperdine School of Public Policy.*

Election night 1932

The book has received mostly glowing reviews from across the political spectrum—and with good reason. It is the best biography of Roosevelt by far, notwithstanding the fact that Black relies almost exclusively on secondary material. He tells Roosevelt's story engrossingly, combining historical rigor with a novelist's eye for detail and character. He paints vivid pictures of Roosevelt's formative years as a scion of a famous family, his ascent in New York state politics, his tenure as secretary of the Navy during World War I, and his campaign as the Democratic party's vice-presidential candidate in 1920. He recounts Roosevelt's excruciating pain and heroic triumph over polio, his remarkable but difficult marriage to Eleanor Roosevelt, his rise to national prominence as a progressive governor of New York, his seminal twelve-year presidency, and his death from a cerebral hemorrhage on April 12, 1945—withered and exhausted, but on the verge of the defeat of Nazi totalitarianism, which Roosevelt, along with Churchill, did more than anyone else to achieve.

Black shows that Roosevelt was also much more intelligent and well read than even some of his supporters believed, particularly in the areas of naval history and strategy. Yet Black does not ignore the less savory aspects of Roosevelt's character: his deviousness, his propensity to blame others for his own mistakes, his vindictiveness toward opponents (which sometimes entailed abusing the powers of his office), his penchant for stretching or twisting the truth, and his emotional detachment even from political allies and family.

Despite his unabashed admiration for Roosevelt, Black does reproach Roosevelt for some of his outlooks and policies. He concedes that Roosevelt did not really understand free enterprise and had a patrician's unwarranted disdain of entrepreneurs. He criticizes Roosevelt for Japanese internment and for not doing enough before the war to rescue Jewish victims of Nazism (although he defends with plausibility Roosevelt's response to the Holocaust during the war). He admits that Roosevelt made some atrocious appointments, most notoriously the defeatist Joseph P. Kennedy as ambassador to Great Britain, and, worse, the fatuous dupe for the USSR, Henry Wallace, as vice president in 1940.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom is not without flaws. Though Black largely substantiates his case, he overstates the merits of Roosevelt's achievements. The book does not really prove Black's argument that the New Deal succeeded in bringing the United States out of the Depression. Free-market economists have demonstrated more convincingly than Black admits that many of the New Deal programs failed.

It was World War II rather than the New Deal that ultimately solved the Depression, and a close look at even Black's own data undermines his argument about the economic efficacy of the New Deal. Black uses 1940 as the benchmark to measure the New Deal's success, without pointing out that rearmament and the Two-Ocean Navy bill of July 1940 propelled the partial recovery of the American economy on the eve of World War II more than any of Roosevelt's often ill-advised economic programs. Many of Roosevelt's much-derided opponents, who resisted the New Deal's more extreme measures, deserve more credit than they receive for saving capitalism and ensuring the primacy of markets in the United States.

Second, though Roosevelt recognized sooner and more clearly than any major political figure besides Churchill the mortal threat Nazism posed, he was less resolute than Black grasps. When World War II began in Europe in September 1939, Roosevelt hoped, like most Americans, that American aid to Britain and France would suffice to defeat Hitler. American rearmament began in earnest, and Roosevelt became convinced of the necessity for direct American involvement in the war, only belatedly, when the fall of France in June 1940 shattered this illusion. The United States entered World War II woefully underprepared and nearly too late, grievous mistakes for which isolationists bear most, but not all, of the blame.

Black marvelously refutes the isolationist case for staying out of war, and wisely distinguishes between honorable but mistaken isolationists such as Robert Taft, and rogues such as Charles Lindbergh and Joseph Kennedy. What Black does not address sufficiently is whether Roosevelt was too hesitant to expend his vast political capital to press more vigorously for more robust rearmament and support of the allies sooner. Granted, this would have tested Roosevelt's talents to the limits, given the formidable isolationist opposition he faced.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom stretches plausibility to the breaking point by resolutely defending Roosevelt's dealings with Stalin. He imputes a Reaganesque, hardline view of the Soviet Union to Roosevelt, despite massive evidence to the contrary. This is, after all, the president who chose Henry Wallace as vice president in 1940. One shudders to think how the Cold War might have turned out had Roosevelt died just months sooner, before the 1944 Democratic convention when he finally replaced Wallace on the ticket with Harry Truman, or had Eleanor Roosevelt succeeded in her bid to keep Wallace as vice president.

Even Black's own account belies his extravagant claims for Roosevelt's prescience about the Soviet threat. Roo-

sevelt always felt, Black admits, "that there was a susceptibility in Stalin to deal honorably with an American leader who was not a European imperialist." He hoped, Black added, "that Stalin would succumb to the temptation of being a figure of stability and gradually a reliable associate in the governance of the whole world." Discussing the particulars of the Yalta Conference, Black gives credence to the idea that Stalin may have been "slightly affected by the tremendous impulse to comradeship at this decisive moment."

This is nonsense. The unbridgeable gap between Leninist-Stalinist and Western values precluded any genuine accommodation. The Soviet Union was neither a defensive nor a traditional imperial entity seeking security. It was engaged in a relentless drive to achieve hegemony in Eurasia. Former Soviet foreign minister and ambassador to Washington Maxim Litvinov aptly summed up Stalin's motivations in a revealing interview with a Western correspondent in 1946: "The ideological conception prevailing" in the Soviet Union is "that conflict between Communist and capitalist worlds is inevitable," Litvinov said. "Western acquiescence to the Soviet Union's territorial demands" would not satisfy Stalin, but would lead merely "to the West being faced with a fresh set of demands."

Some of Roosevelt's most virulent critics in recent years have wildly exaggerated the deficiencies of Roosevelt's wartime diplomacy and strategy. Isolationism and appeasement, not Roosevelt, are mainly responsible for the tragedy of Soviet dominance of much of Eastern Europe after World War II. An American military and political presence in Europe after World War I might have stabilized the continent and deterred the Germans from gambling on Hitler in the first place. The democracies could have stopped Hitler up until the German remilitarization of the Rhineland in March 1936 without relying on Soviet power, had statesmen ignored Roosevelt's isolationist critics and heeded Churchill's warnings about the imperative of strong preemptive action. Even as late as the Munich Crisis of September 1938, France and Great Britain alone could have defeated Nazi Germany. By 1939, however, the democracies had squandered their enormous material advantage pursuing the morally and strategically bankrupt policy of appeasement—and Roosevelt was then right to see that Hitler represented a greater present danger than Stalin. Limited collaboration with the Soviet Union was therefore necessary, however distasteful, to avert the greater moral and geopolitical evil of a Nazi victory.

Roosevelt's superb instincts as a strategist also served, overall, to mitigate some of the more dangerous aspects of his naive views of communism. Roosevelt was right to insist on a cross-channel invasion of France in June 1944, which contributed to containing Soviet influence in Europe. He and Churchill were right to insist on the unconditional surrender of Germany and Japan, which paved the way for both vanquished powers to emerge as vital components of the successful democratic alliance system that triumphed over an evil and dangerous Soviet empire.

Yet a more sagacious Roosevelt would have heeded Churchill's advice in 1945 to push as far into Eastern Europe as possible, which at least would have saved all of Berlin and most of Czechoslovakia for the West. A less naive Roosevelt also would not have fanned dangerous illusions about the efficacy of international organization and collective security.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom has its shortcomings, but it is nonetheless a marvelous book about a great president who richly earned the title Conrad Black bestows on him: co-savior, along with Winston Churchill, of Western civilization at a perilous hour. Roosevelt understood that robust American power and the willingness to use it are indispensable conditions not only to defending freedom and making the world a better place, but for protecting civilization against the next devil that always lurks around the corner in international relations. ♦

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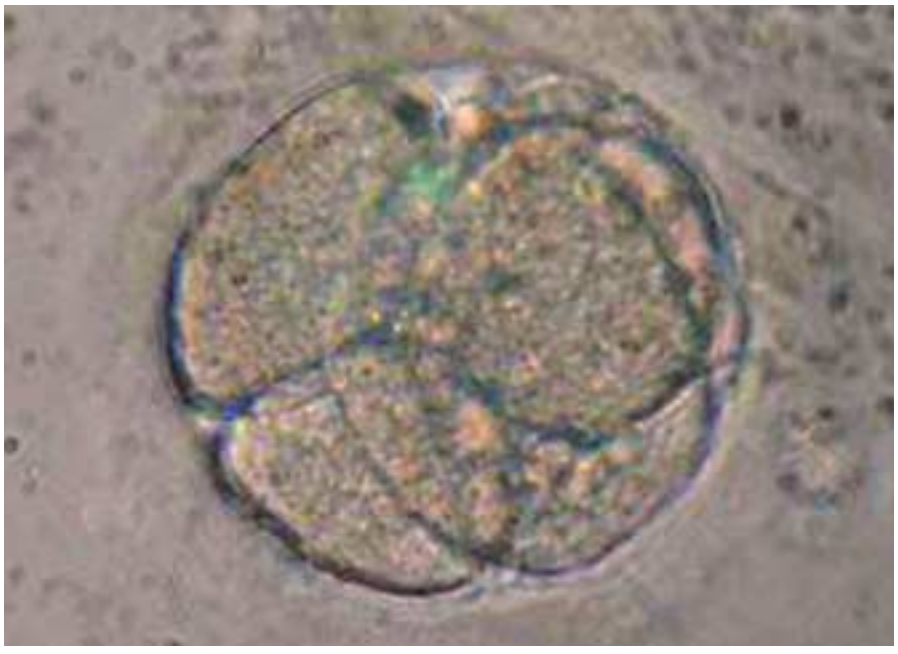
BioEvolution
How Biotechnology Is Changing Our World
by Michael Fumento
Encounter, 486 pp., $28.95

Wesley J. Smith is a senior fellow at the Discovery Institute and author of Forced Exit: The Slippery Slope from Assisted Suicide to Legalized Murder.

In *BioEvolution*, Michael Fumento generally accomplishes this task. More than a cockeyed optimist, he is a true believer, prophesying that the biotech revolution will usher in a near-utopian age. By 2025, the author predicts, the most devastating diseases of our times—AIDS, cancer, malaria, tuberculosis—will be "virtually eliminated." Because of biotech, the author claims as a "science fact," the "famines that have ravaged [underdeveloped] nations for centuries" will become "just a bad memory." Malnutrition and infant mortality will all but disap-



UPI

A new embryo from cloning done this month in South Korea.

pear—more people will be fed on less farmland and the crops "will require less pesticide and fertilizer." The rainforests of South America will be expanding, not shrinking. Toxic waste, including radioactive material, will cease to be of significant concern.

That's a tall order. But Fumento is convinced biotechnology will bring us to this temporal Nirvana—and here he almost falls into the usual trap—if only "fearmongers" and "professional futurephobes" don't interfere. After all, he claims, techno-naysayers of the past opposed pasteurization of milk, and the smallpox vaccine caused outright fear. (Apparently it still does, considering the resistance to President Bush's plan to vaccinate health care workers against smallpox in case of a biological terrorist attack.) The answer to such irrational resistance to progress, he claims, is "education" and the "success of the [biotech] products themselves."

As for the substantial moral issues raised by biotechnology, Fumento believes they can be simply skirted, for example by using adult stem cells rather than embryonic sources or human cloning in regenerative medicine. That would be swell, but the notion of self-restraint seems thus far not to have occurred to the National Academy of Sciences or the Biotechnology Industry Organization.

Still, compared with most books of this type, Fumento's advocacy rarely bashes those with whom he disagrees. Indeed, much of his time—sometimes too much of his time—is spent describing the astonishing range of biotechnological research performed by thousands of entrepreneurial bioresearch enterprises. What's more, *BioEvolution* demonstrates that for all of the *Sturm und Drang* over issues such as human cloning, the vast amount of biotechnological enterprise does not pose a threat to human dignity, although it may offend environmental purists. For example, biotech companies are seeking to find vaccines for cancer and developing "plantibodies," in which fruits and vegetables are genetically modified so that they can treat medical conditions such as hypertension or prevent many disease scourges. In early human trials, eating genetically modified potatoes led to a pronounced increase in resistance to the potentially deadly *E. coli* bacteria.

Because Fumento is so eager to impress us with the vast, energetic enterprise that biotech has become, he often doesn't linger long enough on the research being conducted to give us a complete view. For example, at one point he describes how "transgenic" goats have been developed that contain genes from spiders so that ewes produce silk protein in their milk. This technique may allow us to harvest spider's silk in industrial amounts potentially leading to the development of a product so strong that "a woven cable as thick as your thumb can bear the weight of a Boeing 747 airliner."

This is interesting, but it produces a flood of questions: How many transgenic goats would be needed, and what would the harvesting process be like? What obstacles do the researchers face in achieving their goal? Would there be a danger of mixing these goats with "natural" herds? How would the product potentially change industry? What might it cost, say, in comparison with producing steel? But other than illustrating how it would improve body armor for soldiers and police officers, Fumento doesn't say. After spending a handful of paragraphs drawing the reader into the project, in a frustrating act of *interruptus*, like a honeybee in a field of flowers, he buzzes off to the next example of amazing research, and the next, and the next.

On the question of genetic modification in food, however, he does spend the time to develop the material. Genetically modified foods are controversial among environmentalists. I am agnostic myself and bemused that those who seem the most upset about it—Jeremy Rifkin excepted—often express scant concern about making such alterations in human beings. Fumento makes reasoned points about how some opposition to genetically altered crops actually produces profoundly antihuman consequences. While famine threatened Zambia in 2002, for example, environmentalists, declaring modified food to be "poison," persuaded the government to refuse to distribute 17,000 tons of donated corn because about 30 percent of it was transgenic. People were starving, but that mattered little to those who put saving human lives beneath "saving the planet" from abuse. "They can play games with Europeans who have full stomachs," said a disgusted Andrew Natsios, the U.S.A.I.D. administrator, "but it is revolting and despicable to see them do so when the lives of Africans are at stake."

Many of the biotech research activities reported by Fumento could help clean up the planet. There is a bacterial enzyme that converts the poisonous metal mercury into its least toxic form, for instance. I was also struck by how so many of the hoped-for biotechnological advances require the humane use of animals—either as living sources of potentially potent medicine or to determine whether experimental procedures are safe. This is not the point of *BioEvolution*, but it effectively dismantles the PETA propaganda that doing away with the use of animals in research would advance human welfare.

Michael Fumento is far too gullible about the potential for biotechnology to banish most human suffering. And he skirts the moral controversies surrounding human cloning and embryonic stem-cell research, which are at the heart of the debates swirling around biotechnology.

Nonetheless, his research shows the vast scope of contemporary biotechnological research. Fumento's *BioEvolution* is as good as the case for biotech gets. ♦

BCA

The Bush Dynasty

Kevin Phillips gets everything wrong.

BY NOEMIE EMERY

What has George W. Bush in common with England's King Charles II? Everything, according to Kevin Phillips, and none of it good. Charles II, you may recall, was the oldest son of Charles I, who started a war and was beheaded, and then, after years of Cromwellian revels, had two sons restored to his throne. Clever, lazy, and cynical, Charles II managed to avoid trouble and chopping blocks by not doing much beyond messing with girlfriends and tossing off quips.

American Dynasty
Aristocracy, Fortune, and the Politics of Deceit in the House of Bush
by Kevin Phillips
Viking, 416 pp., $25.95

To Phillips in *American Dynasty: Aristocracy, Fortune, and the Politics of Deceit in the House of Bush*, this is Bush to the life, a cipher who succeeded a deposed, hated father, ousted by a regicide both kings had despised. Or perhaps Bush is really Louis XVIII, the Bourbon restored to the French throne after the battle of Waterloo, when it was clear that Napoleon hadn't worked out. "The similarities between the United States at the end of the Clinton years and the England of 1660-61 and the France of 1814-15 suggest . . . parallel forces," Phillips informs us. "The English . . . and the French . . . had executed their kings and expelled their ruling houses. Within two decades or so the regicides . . . had worn out their moral and political welcome, creating support for bringing back the old royal houses."

There are other parallels, a little more recent, although a little more obscure. "The restoration of George W. Bush in the United States had company. In Bulgaria, Simeon II . . . deposed as a boy in 1946, returned in 2001 as prime minister . . . in 2002, the Italian Parliament had laid the groundwork for restoring a sixty-three-year-old claimant to reign as Victor Emmanuel IV. In Serbia, the deceased father of Crown Prince Alexander lost his throne in 1945 . . . in 2001 . . . Alexander got his palace back, if not his throne. . . . This is more than eerie. A disturbing sidebar to the political culture of these restorations was how many of these would-be monarchs, royal houses, and supporting factions had been on the fascist side of World War II."

Fascists! Of course! How could we omit them? "Eerie" doesn't begin to describe it, as Phillips spins his tale of the past several decades in the dread House of Bush. Backed by a sordid cabal of oilmen, arms merchants, and CIA agents, George I climbed the greasy pole of preferment, where he was such a "spectacular failure" that he was symbolically beheaded by American voters in the election of 1992. In spite of this, his disgruntled supporters demonized his regicidal successor and plotted the return of the deposed fallen leader in the form of his clueless and figurehead son.

Phillips is impressed by Bush I's startling drop from 53.4 percent of the vote in 1988 to 37.4 percent four years later, which he calls a political "earthquake." But much of this was due to the third-party presence of H. Ross Perot, whose maverick campaign enabled Clinton to win a sizable victory in the electoral college with a mere 43 percent of the vote. Bill Clinton was neither a strongman nor regicide, but the legitimately elected choice of his party. George Bush the elder was neither despised nor detested; he was respected by his country for his work in the Gulf War and Cold War, and voted out by people who had never stopped liking him, although they now felt he had run out of steam. George Bush the younger was selected to run by his party less as his father's son than as a break with tradition, as a "new kind of Republican" (as Clinton had run as a "new kind of Democrat"), backed at first less by the conservative base of his party than by the more diverse and eclectic Republican governors, eager to put their stamp on the national party and counter the image, promoted by Congress, of a party of angry white males. When he ran in 2000, George W. Bush patterned his campaign not on any one run by his father, but on Clinton's campaign against his own father, when he ran as an innovative young southern governor, who took on a creature of Washington. (It was Al Gore who was often

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CORBIS SYGMA

The Bush family in 1992.

compared to George Bush the elder, as a two-term vice president, with impressive credentials, but lacking political instincts or skills.)

Beginning in 1968 as a student of Nixon, Phillips has long since moved into the Gore Vidal fever swamps, and his theme in *American Dynasty* often seems merely a contrivance with which to beat upon Bush. To a great extent, he rewrites Michael Lind's book, *Made In Texas*, which claims, along with other strange observations, that the Connecticut-born Bushes are really in sync with Confederate theories, that the combined 2000 vote for Al Gore and Ralph Nader is a liberal landslide on the scale of Lyndon Johnson's 1964 victory, that George W. Bush stole the 2000 election, that Texas is a toxic and foreign political culture, and that the modern Republican party is a malign gathering of bloodsuckers, bigots, and religious fanatics.

Without quite saying so openly, Phillips lays out a series of cases in which the elder George Bush or people close to him fiendishly worked to undermine President Carter and secure the election of Reagan that gave Bush his big chance. One is the theory that Richard Secord and other Bush connections in the Carter National Security Council purposely sabotaged the failed hostage rescue mission in April 1980. The second is the grassy-knoll theory of the October Surprise—that Republican bigwigs, George Bush among them, bribed Iran to keep the hostages until the election was over. (Phillips thinks Bush did not, as charged, make a secret visit to Paris. He just supervised things from back home.)

Phillips thinks that George Bush the elder was a failure in the first Gulf War, because Saddam survived and lived on to mock him; and he thinks that George Bush the younger is a failure in the second Gulf War, because Saddam was ousted and his ouster has led to a quagmire from which we will never emerge. Nowhere in *American Dynasty* is there a look at geopolitics or the costs of letting Saddam keep Kuwait.

Phillips also appears somewhat less than persuasive in his ideas of how dynasties work. "Dynasties in American politics are dangerous," he wrote in the *Los Angeles Times*. But it is rather unlikely that many of the 48.9 million Americans who selected George W. Bush in the 2000 election were casting their votes for a Bush Restoration. They were voting instead for the young Texas governor, the new kind of Republican, the flag-bearer of the Republican governors, who were in the 1990s the most popular figures in politics. His father was liked, but did not rouse strong emotions, and his political profile was not well defined.

Besides, even American political figures who do arouse strong emotions find it difficult to bequeath their support to their heirs. Theodore Roosevelt had four sons, at least one of whom, all assumed, would one day win high office. It didn't happen. The same thing occurred with his young cousin Franklin (and his niece Eleanor), who also had four sons, three of whom lusted for office.

For the twelve years after the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, it was taken as fact that Edward M. Kennedy could have the White House whenever he wanted. In 1980 he ran against a stunningly weak Democratic incumbent and lost.

Meanwhile, George W. Bush lost in his first bid for Congress. His brother Jeb lost in his first bid to be Florida's governor. Their father lost often: He lost a run for the Senate in 1970 to Lloyd Bentsen, a run for the Republican nomination in 1980 to Reagan, and his run for reelection as president twelve years after that. Despite a massive investment of money and effort over the past nineteen years, the Kennedys have, in the third generation, exactly one minor member of Congress, who does not seem likely to rise very far. His cousin Joe, once thought a star, has been forced out of politics. His cousin Kathleen, with a huge war chest and a friendly electorate, lost a bid to become governor of Maryland in 2002.

History tells us that while dynastic heirs have a huge incoming advantage in connections, money, and sentiment, they fail when they reach above their own level of competence and come falling quickly to earth. Dynastic heirs never rise without serious talent. Oddly enough, in *American Dynasty* Phillips names James Madison and John Adams as two founding

Americans who would have been appalled by the rise of the Bushes. But in their day and age, they were the Bushes: Madison, like his friend Thomas Jefferson, was the son of a very rich land-owning family who inherited his social prestige and political influence. And John Adams was sire of our very first political dynasty, first of two Adamses to serve as president, first of three Adamses to serve as ambassador to Great Britain.

One of the greatest strengths of the American nation is that it has always been able, from its very inception, to draw on the talents of all classes of people: not just Alexander Hamilton, the déclassé, illegitimate, penniless immigrant, or John Adams, the middle-class man from New England, or George Washington, the son of a minor planter who rose with the help of his rich, titled in-laws—but also those, like Jefferson and Madison, who were born, in effect, on home plate.

Did Simeon II have to face the Iowa caucuses? Did Charles II run against Richard Cromwell? Did Victor Emmanuel have to debate? Our worst presidents have been neither dynastic nor moneyed; and the privileged have, all in all, fared rather well. The country had less to fear from George Bush or John F. Kennedy than from Lyndon Johnson and Richard M. Nixon—poor boys who fought their way up from the bottom, who were so deranged by their envy of the likes of the Bushes and Kennedys that it seems to have driven them nuts.

Something of the sort also seems to have happened to Phillips, whose *American Dynasty* defies sense and reason. ♦

Giving It All Away

Philanthropy and its discontents.

BY LESLIE LENKOWSKY

American philanthropy has recently found itself in the unusual position of being on the defensive. Organizations on the front-lines of providing assistance to the victims of the terrorist attacks of September 11, such as the American Red Cross, were accused of dispursing the more than $1 billion in contributions too slowly—or even diverting the funds to other uses. Financial and management scandals involving well-known nonprofit groups, such as the United Way and the Nature Conservancy, have raised questions about conflicts of interest and governance. And many grant-making foundations, the "venture capitalists" of the philanthropic world, have come under fire for spending too much money on salaries and other administrative expenses and investing too little in worthy causes.

The Greater Good
How Philanthropy Drives the American Economy and Can Save Capitalism
by Claire Gaudiani
Times, 290 pp., $25

As a result of all this, the Brookings Institution's Paul C. Light reports, while public confidence in civic institutions generally went up after September 11, it dropped for charitable ones and has stayed lower than it used to be. That may be the reason Claire Gaudiani's new book, *The Greater Good: How Philanthropy Drives the American Economy and Can Save Capitalism*, has won endorsements even from across the political spectrum, including the Heritage Foundation's leader, Edwin Feulner. The former president of Connecticut College, Gaudiani aims to celebrate the achievements of American philanthropy, and, in the first half of her book, she makes a convincing case that American generosity is not just a product of the nation's wealth but also contributes significantly to building it.

Gifts from philanthropists, Gaudiani shows, have enabled Americans from all backgrounds to gain access to fine educations, as well as addressing a host of health and other problems that might have limited poor people's participation in the nation's economy. Donations have helped build the infrastructure of American communities, from housing and hospitals to research parks and cultural centers. Not least important, in Gaudiani's eyes, is the role philanthropists have played in seeding new ideas. Without the support of the Guggenheim family for professional schools and pioneer inventors such as Robert Goddard, she argues, aviation and rocketry in the United States might have grown far more slowly.

Gaudiani overstates her case about philanthropy "saving" capitalism. Will Bill Gates's foundation ever surpass what he did for the economy as an entrepreneur? But she is onto an important point. Indeed, it is the same one Andrew Carnegie made, over a century ago, when he called on his fellow industrialists to be generous in providing opportunities and amenities for their less wealthy fellow citizens in order to preserve the economic system that had produced their fortunes.

Yet, after having praised the contributions philanthropy has made to the health of American society (and especially to upward economic mobility for the poor and minorities), Gaudiani then maintains—throughout the future-looking, second half of her book—that the nation is in dire straits. "Simply put," she writes, "we're losing ground." Using carefully selected statistics, she contends that inequality in income and wealth is increasing, opportunities for getting ahead are declining, and Americans are becoming more dissatisfied and unhappy. Even philanthropy has been coming up short. As a share of personal

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income, Gaudiani laments, giving is only about where it was thirty years ago.

Although all of this is open to argument, it is now part of the conventional wisdom that can be heard at any gathering of foundations or groups representing the nation's large charities. So too is the solution: If government will not "put its money where the need is," philanthropy needs to step up. Gaudiani would like to see what she calls "a generosity revolution," at least a doubling of the amount given today, a figure she justifies by citing estimates of an impending intergenerational transfer of wealth in the trillions of dollars during the next fifty years. She also serves up a laundry list of mostly familiar ideas about how to spend this money, such as by investing in economic development in low-income neighborhoods and encouraging "asset-building" among the poor. Changes in capital gains or estate-tax laws, she adds, should only be considered if their beneficiaries can confidently be expected to put at least "the larger portion" of the proceeds into voluntary donations to those whose "social health is in jeopardy."

These ideas receive nothing close to the careful examination they deserve. Some, such as promoting revolving credit institutions for low-income workers, have proven to be useful, if done properly. But policy analysis is not the aim of this book; exhortation is. What Gaudiani is trying to do is show how much could be done, if only philanthropy—along with government and business—loosened its purse-strings. Her "ultimate goal," she writes, "is to inform readers that we are rich because we are generous and then to inspire a dramatic increase in personal generosity over the next thirty years."

But Gaudiani fails to come to grips with the fact that Americans have not exactly been stingy during the past thirty years, the period in which, according to her, the nation's "social health" has been getting worse. Indeed, by her own account, charitable giving has kept pace with the enormous growth in personal income during these decades. In the boom years of the 1990s, it rose even more rapidly. If it has not produced the results it previously did, that might be because it was misdirected. While offering advice about other kinds of "dangerous donations," Gaudiani is silent about whether or not donors should support the billion-dollar fundraising campaigns of already well-heeled colleges and universities. Or the reason might be that more money—even if well-spent—will not solve the problems that concern her, such as children growing up in poverty, whose roots lie in social and cultural factors that philanthropists either cannot or do not wish to confront.

In addition, Gaudiani focuses on only half of the relation between philanthropy and capitalism. If the United States is rich because it is generous, it is also generous because it is rich. Any prescriptions for how much Americans ought to donate—let alone how much government or business should—need to be made in light of their potential economic impact. Hardly anyone doubts, for example, that lowering capital gains or estate taxes will reduce the financial incentives for giving to charity.

But if such measures also increase the incentives for earning income (or accumulating wealth), their long-term effects on philanthropy are likely to be good. Similarly, while there is little dispute about the impending intergenerational wealth-transfer, how much of their inheritance the baby boomers and their children ought to give to charity and how much they should invest in capital-hungry businesses (or set aside for their own retirements, so that higher taxes to pay for Social Security and Medicare become unnecessary) is not easy to say, even a few years in advance, let alone over a fifty-year period.

Gaudiani's defense of philanthropy, which starts off so promisingly, would have finished the same way if she had looked as closely at how capitalism "saves" philanthropy as she does at how giving helps the economy. But championing measures that help the wealthy is not as fashionable as calling for increased redistribution and giving, especially if one wants to stay in the good graces of the philanthropic world. ♦

Books in Brief

***Never a Matter of Indifference: Sustaining Virtue in a Free Republic*, edited by Peter Berkowitz (Hoover, 161 pp., $15).** In his introduction to this collection of essays, Peter Berkowitz observes that the contributors share a belief in public policy's power to shape citizens—and an anxiety that recent policy has weakened civil society. *Never a Matter of Indifference* offers a clear and accessible discussion of issues that have been with America since the founding.

The book's opening section, devoted to "theoretical considerations," includes essays by Harvey Mansfield on the interplay between liberty and virtue and by Stanley Kurtz on the way the 1960s transformed liberalism into a sort of religion, paradoxically organized around the collective advancement of individualism.

The rest of the book focuses on practical policy, with an essay by David Davenport and Hanna Skandera on civic associations and another by Chester Finn on schooling. These offer illuminating discussions of the tensions created by government involvement in local institutions. Davenport and Skandera examine the way governmental regulation, rather than fostering a diversity of types of association, has in recent years tended to enforce diversity *within* each association.

The most ambitious essay in the volume is Douglas Kmiec's piece on marriage and family, which moves from theoretical foundations (urging a return to "the paradox that we find individual freedom through obedience to our human natures") to a discussion of social and legal policy concerning property laws, the influence of patterns of parental work on the family, and the elimination of marriage from instructional texts on pregnancy.

At the end of his essay, Kmiec puts his finger on a question at the heart of the project to which each of the contributors is committed: whether virtue can be fostered in conjunction with a conception of freedom as autonomy. *Never a Matter of Indifference* helps us see which theoretical resources and practical considerations need to be included in any fruitful discussion of "virtue in a free republic."

—Thomas Hibbs

***Spree: A Cultural History of Shopping* by Pamela Klaffke (Arsenal, 231 pp., $17.95).** Anyone who thinks shopping is frivolous hasn't read Pamela Klaffke's *Spree*. From the use of cattle as currency to the popularity of QVC, Klaffke shows how shopping has "evolved from a need, to a want, to a sport." She describes the invention of essential shopping artifacts—the cash register, the shopping bag, and the bar code—and delves into less-known facts of shopping life, such as retailers who hire "mystery shoppers" to pose as real shoppers in the effort to keep tabs on sales clerks and prevent employee theft.

In the chapter on the dark side of shopping, readers learn of "eBay addicts," who have compulsions similar to those of problem gamblers, and shopping bulimics—consumers who, in need of a quick fix, buy items they don't want and end up returning them. Researchers at Stanford are testing the effectiveness of the antidepressant pill Celexa as a possible treatment for these compulsive shoppers.

Klaffke also mentions great moments in shopping—as when Leka, self-proclaimed king of Albania, bought an elephant at Harrods in 1967 for California's governor, Ronald Reagan. (Reagan named his new pet GOP and gave it to the Sacramento public zoo.) *Spree* is filled with delightful black-and-white photographs and notes on the language of shopping (fleas infested the secondhand goods at Parisian outdoor markets, hence "flea market"), celebrity cheapskates, and more. Reading *Spree* is as satisfying as finding a good bargain.

—Erin Montgomery

DETROIT—Five crashes involving the new Chevrolet Aveo prompted General Motors Corp. to temporarily instruct dealers not to sell the cars, but the automaker said Thursday it has determined the car did not cause the wrecks. ***—AP, February 19, 2004***

Parody

GM

General Motors Corporation

Dear Valued Aveo Owner:

As you may know, the Aveo has been in the news lately, and the Aveo model may, in the future, be somewhat unavailable. While we cannot offer any specific information, please rest assured that General Motors continues to believe 100 percent in the sanctity of human life. To assist us in maintaining the highest levels of customer satisfaction, and for your own sake, we hope you will take the time to provide us with your valuable feedback.

PLEASE PICK THE STATEMENT THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR EXPERIENCE WITH THE AVEO:

HANDLING

- ◯ A. The steering wheel is pretty much attached to the steering column. The whole "on-off" thing is only when I'm in reverse.
- ◯ B. Right turns I try to avoid. Left turns—no problem at all.
- ◯ C. I find the Aveo to be more of a "straight" kind of car.

ENGINE PERFORMANCE

- ◯ A. This car goes up to a buttery 50 mph on the highway without fail.
- ◯ B. The little exploding sounds are only a problem above 25 mph, and the car looks totally fine on the outside.
- ◯ C. The flames from under the hood, while not necessarily harmful, do raise the cabin temperature above my comfort zone.

BRAKING

- ◯ A. I press on the brakes and, presto, the car stops—Chevy at its best.
- ◯ B. When it comes to stopping, my car seems to appreciate above-average levels of advance notice.
- ◯ C. Once it was determined that my car had an "extra clutch," it was very easy to make room for a brake pedal.

WINDOWS

- ◯ A. I'm sure my windows would go up and down fine if I tried, but is it worth it?
- ◯ B. When I roll down my windows, the doors do sort of "pulverize" them.
- ◯ C. It is important not to keep shutting the car doors.

EXTRAS

- ◯ A. It is fair to say that my car's horn serves at the pleasure of the driver, mostly.
- ◯ B. When I'm at a crosswalk, I can easily make the horn stop by putting the car in neutral.
- ◯ C. When I drive above 25 mph, engine noises drown out any horn problems.

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